A

❋ The Explanation of the Embleme.

Ponderibus genus omne mali, probrique gravatus
Vixque ferenda ferens palma ut depressa, resurga.

Ac velut undarum fluctus ventique furorum
Irati populi rupes immota repello.

Clariar e tenebris, cœlestis stella, coruſco:
Victor & æternum fœlici pace triumpho.

Auro ſplendentem rutilo, gemmiſque decorum,
At curis grævidam ſpernendo calco coronam.

Spinoſam, at ferri facilem, quo ſpes mea, Chriſti
Auxilio, Nobis vera eſt tractare voluptas.

Æternam fixis fidei ſemperque beatam,
In cœlos oculis ſpecto; Nobiſq; paratam.

Quod vanum eſt, ſperno; quod Chriſti gratia præbet
Amplecti ſtudium eſt: virtutis gloria merces.

THough clogg'd with weights of miſeries,
As Palm depreſs'd I higher riſe.

And as th'unmoved Rock outbraves
The boiſtrous winds, and raging waves:

So triumph I. And in dark Night
Of ſad afflictions ſhine more bright.

That ſplendid, but yet toilſome Crown
Regardleſly I trample down.

With joy I take this Crown of Thorn,
Though ſharp, yet eaſie to be born.

That glorious happy Crown I ſee,
Deprived whereof I cannot be.

I ſlight vain things, and do embrace
Glory the juſt reward of grace.

G. D.

Clarior e tenebris
DIGITA TRIVMPHANS
CRESCIT SVB PONDERE VIRTVS
Coeli Specto
Christi Tractu
Mundi Calco

RELIQUIÆ SACRÆ CAROLINAE.

OR THE

WORKS

OF THAT GREAT MONARCH AND GLORIOUS MARTYR King CHARLES the I.

Collected together, and digested in order, according to their several Subjects, CIVIL and SACRED.

The Contents appear in the ensuing Pages.

2 King. 23. 25. *And like unto him there was no King before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, &c.*
Heb. 11. 4. *Being dead, he yet speaketh.*

C. R.

HAGUE,
Printed by Samuel Browne, 1657.

The Contents of this Book, containing Matters both Civill *and* Sacred.

The generals of the Matters *Civill.*

1. HIs *Majesties Speech* p 2
2. His *Majesties Messages for Peace,* 5
3. His *Majesties Letters,* 15

With some Declarations written by His Majesty Himself.

The generals of the Matter *Sacred.*

1. The *Papers about Episcopacy which passed between His Majesty and Mr* Marshall. *Mr.* Vines, *Mr* Carill, *and Mr.* Seaman *at the Treaty at* Newport, *in the Isle of* Wight, 1648. 29

2. H

2. *His Majesties Prayers: To which are added, divers things relating to His Majesties Death,* 392

The particulars doe ensue.

Concerning Matters Civill.

I.

Several Speeches delivered by His *Majesty* to the two Houses at *Westminster*, and at other places since the beginning of this Parliament.

1 TO *both Houses at their first meeting*, Nov. 3 1640. *p.* 1

2 *To the House of Lords*, Nov. 5. 1640. 3

3 *To both Houses at the Banquetting-House in White-Hall*, Jan. 25. 1640. 4

4 *To both Houses, in answer to a Remonstrance, about Papists, &c.* Feb. 3. 1640. 7

5 *At the Passing of the Bill for a Triennial Parliament*, Feb. 15. 1640. 8

6 *To both Houses in the Banquetting-*

ting-House, about disbanding the Armies in Ireland and England, &c. April 28. 1641. 8

7 To the Lords, before the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford, May 1. 1641. 10

8 To both Houses, at the passing of the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, June 22. 1641. 12

9 To both Houses, at the Passing of the Bills for taking away the Star-chamber, &c. July 5. 1641. 13

10 To the Scotch Parliament, at Edenbrough, Aug. 19. 1641. 15

11 To both Houses, after His return from Scotland, December 2. 1641. 16

12 To both Houses about Ireland, and the Bill for pressing of Soulaiers, Decemb. 14. 1641. 18

13 In the House of Commons about the five Members, Jan. 4. 1641. 19

14 At Guild-Hall, about the five Members. Jan 5. 1641. 20

15 At Theobalds, at the delivery of the Petition for the Militia, March 1. 1641. 20

16 At Newmarket, to the Earls of Holland, Pembroke, and the rest of the Committee, &c. March 9 1641. 21

Some passages that hapned the 9. of March,

March, *between the Kings Majesty and the Committee of both Houses, when the Declaration was delivered,* 23

What passed the next day, when His Majesty delivered His Answer, 23

17 *To the Sheriff, Ministers, Gentry, &c. of* Yorkshire, *when they presented, &c.* April 5. 1642. 25

18 *To the Gentry of* Yorkshire, *attending his Majesty at* York, May 12. 1642. 27

19 *To the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of* Nottingham, *at* Newark, July 4. 1642. 28

20 *To the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of* Lincoln, *&c.* July 15. 1642. 29

21 *To the Gentlemen and Inhabitants of* Leicester, *at* Leicester, July 20. 1642. 31

22 *To the Gentlemen of* Yorksh. Aug. 4. 1642. 33

23 *His Majesties Speech and Protestation in the head of his Army, between* Stafford *and* Wellington, *after the reading of His Orders,* Septem. 19. 1642. 37

24 *To the Inhabitants of* Denby *and* Flint, *at* Wrexham, Septem. 27. 1642. 38

25 To the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of Salop, at Shrewsbury, Sept. 28. 1642. 42

26 To the Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of Oxon, at Oxford, Nov. 2. 1642. 43

27 To the Members of both Houses assembled at Oxford, Jan 22. 1643. 44

28 His Majesties Speech and Protestation before he received the holy Eucharist at Christ-church, in Oxford, 1643. 47

29 To the Members of both Houses at Oxford, Feb 7 1643. 47

30 To the Lords and Commons assembled at Oxford, at their Recesse, April 26. 1644. 48

31 At the delivery of the Votes for a personal Treaty at Carisbrook Castle, Aug. 7 1648 50

32 To the Commissioners at the close of the Treaty at Newport, Nov. 4. 1648 53

33 His Majesties farewel Speech to the Commissioners at Newport, Nov. 1648. 54

His Majesties last Speech at His Martyrdom, is at the end of the Book, among other things relating to His Death, 407

His

II.

His Majesties Messages for Peace, sent to the two Houses, before and since the breaking out of this war, whereof only 21. were formerly printed together, to which all the rest are now added: With two Declarations written by His Majesty during His imprisonment, at the *Isle of Wight*.

HIs Majesties Message of Jan. 20 1641. for composing of all differences, 56

2 The Message of March 15. 1641. from Huntington, upon his removal to York, in pursuance of the former 57

3 The Message from Nottingham when He set up his Standard, Aug. 25. 1642. 59

4 The Message of Sept. 5. 1642. in pursuance of the former. 61

5 The Message and Reply to the Answer of both Houses, Sep. 11. 1642 62

6 The Message of Nov. 12. 1642.

from Brainsford, *after the defeat of the Parliaments forces at* Edge-Hill, *and at* Brainsford, 63

7 *The Message of* Nov. 18. 1642. *containing his Reply to the Answer of both Houses,* 65

8 *The Message of* March 3. 1643. *for a Treaty from* Oxford, 68

9 *The Message of* April 12. 1643. *from* Oxford, *after the end of the Treaty, for disbanding all forces, and his return to the Parliament,* 69

10 *The Message of* May 19. 1643. *in pursuance of the former,* Oxf. 72

11 *The Message of* July 4. 1644. *from* Evesham, *after the defeat of* Waller *at* Cropready bridge, 74

12 *The Mess. of* Sept. 8. 1644. *from* Tavestock, *after the defeat of the E. of* Essex *at* Lestithiel, 75

13 *The Message of* Dec. 5. 1645. *for a safe conduct for some persons of Honour, &c. from* Oxford, 76

14 *The Message of* Dec. 15. 1645. *in pursuance of the former,* Oxf. 77

15 *The Message of* Dec. 15. 1645. *for a Treaty,* Oxf. 79

16 *The Message of* Dec. 29. 1645. *in pursuance of the former,* 82

The Message of Jan. 15. 1645. *in pursuance, &c. containing his Majesties Concessions and Offers,* 84

18 *The*

The Contents.

18 *The Meſſ. of* Jan. 17. 1645. *for an Anſwer to his former Meſſages,* Oxford, 86

19. *The Meſſ. of* Jan. 24. 1645. *for anſwer to his laſt, concerning the reaſons againſt a perſonal Treaty,* Oxf. 87

20 *The Meſſage of* Jan. 29. 1645. *about* Ireland, *and his Majeſties further Conceſſions and deſire of a perſonal Treaty,* Oxf. 91

21 *The Meſſ. of* Feb. 26. 1645. *for an Anſwer to the laſt.* Oxf. 95

22 *The Meſſage of* March 23. 1645 *for his Majeſties comming up to* London, *&c.* Oxf. 96

23 *The Meſſage of* May 18. 1646 *from* Southwel, *containing his Majeſties further Conceſſions, &c.* 98

24 *The Meſſage of* June 10. 1646 *from* Newcaſtle, *for Prop. of peace, &c. a Let. to the Gov. of his Gar.* 100

25 *The Meſſage of* Aug. 1. 1646 *from* Newcaſtle, *for a perſonal Treat at or neer* London, *&c.* 101

26 *The Meſſage of* Aug. 10. 1646 *with a general Anſwer to the Prop. and his deſire to treat, &c.* 10

* This Meſſage is the ſame wi the former, which by a miſtake the date in ſome printed copies, w taken for a different Meſſage.

27 *The Meſſage of* Dec. 20 164 fr

from Newcast. *for a Treaty, &c. upon the faith of the two Houses,* 107

28 *The Message of* Feb 17. 1646. *from* Holmby, *concerning his Chaplains,* 109

29 *The Message of* March 6. 1646. *from* Holmby, *in pursuance of the former,* 110

30 *The Message of* May 12. 1647. *from* Holmby, *with his Answer in particular to the Propositions.* 112

31 *The Message of* Sept. 9. 1647. *from* Hampton-Court, *with his Ans. to the Propositions, &c.* 118

32 *The Message of* Nov. 11. 1647. *left on his Majesties Table at* Hampton Court. 120

33 *The Message of* Nov. 17. 1647. *for a personal Treaty, with his particular Concessions, &c,* 122

34 *The Message of* Dec. 6. 1647. *from* Carisbrook-Castle, *for an Answer to his last,* 128

35 *The Message and Answer to the four Bills, and the Propositions presented at* Carisbrook Castle, *before the Votes of* No addresse Dec. 28. 1647. 130

36 *The Message of* Aug. 10. 1648. *with his Majesties Ans. to the Votes for a Treaty at the* Isle of Wight, *from* Carisbrook-Castle, 133

37 The

The Contents.

37 *The Meſſages of* Aug 28. 1648. *for ſome of his Councel and others to attend his Majeſty, &c.* 136

38 *The Meſſage of* Sept. 7. 1648. *concerning the Treaty, and for two Doctors of the Civil Law to attend at the Treaty.* Carisbrook Caſtle, 138

39 *The Meſſ. of* Nov. 2. 1648. *for 4 Biſhops and 2 Doctors of Divinity more, &c. from* Newport, 139

40 *The Meſſage of* Sept. 29. 1648. *containing his Majeſties Conceſſions, from* Newport, 139

1 *His Majeſties Declaration to all his people,* Jan. 18. 1647 *from* Cariſbrook, *after the Votes of* No addreſſe, 149

2 *His Majeſties Declaration, concerning the Treaty, and diſlike of the Armies proceedings, delivered by his Majeſty to one of his Servants, &c. from the* Iſle of Wight, &c. Anno 1648. 154

Letters

The Contents.

III.

Letters written by His *Majeſty* to ſeverall perſons ſince the beginning of this Parliament, heretofore publiſhed at ſeverall times, and now collected into one Body. Together with thoſe intercepted Letters publiſhed by the Parl. &c.

1. TO *the Houſe of Peers, about the Reprieve of the Earl of* Strafford, *ſent by the Prince*, May 11. 1641. *from* White-Hall, 15

2 *To the Lord Keeper, about Mr* Attourney Generall, March 4. 164[1] *from* Royſton, 16

3 *To the Lord Keeper about the Lord* Admiral, March 21. 1642. *from* York, 16

4 *To the Major of* Hull, April 2[3] 1642. *from* York, 16

5 *To the high Sheriff of* Yorkſhire May 5. 1642. *from* York, 16

6 *To the Gentry of* Yorkſhire May 16. 1642 *from* York, 16

7 *To the Privy Councel of Scot-*
land

land, May 20. 1642. *from* York, 169
8 *To the Lord* Willoughby *of* Parham, June 4. 1642 *from* York, 171
9 *To the Commiſſioners of Array in* Leiceſterſhire, June 22. 1642 *from* York, 172
10 *To the Major, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of* London, June 14. 1642. *from* York, 176
11 *To the Judges to be publiſhed in their Circuits*, July 4. 1642. *from* York, 177
12 *To the Vice-Chancellour of* Oxford, July 18. 1642. *from* Beverley 182
13 *To the Major of* Oxford, July 22. 1642. *from* Nottin. 183
14 *To the Sheriffs of* London, January 17. 1642. *from* Oxford, 184
15 *To the Sheriff and Juſtices of* Glocesterſhire, February 12. 1642. *from* Oxford. 189
16 *To the Privy Councel of* Scotland, December 6. 1642. *from* Oxford, 192
17 *To the Privy Councel of* Scotland, September 18. 1642. *from* Stratford, 197
18 *To the Privy Councell of* Scotland, October 13. 1642. *from* Bridgenorth, 199
19 To

The Contents.

19 To the *Major, Sheriffs, and Common Councell of* Briſtoll, *about Mr.* Yeomans, *and Maſter* Bourchier, *&c.* May 29. 1643. *from* Oxf. 200

20 To *the City of* Gloceſter, *a Summons, with the Anſwer,* Aug. 10. 1643. 201

21 To *the inhabitants of* Cornwall. *a Letter of thanks,* September 10. 1643. *from* Sudely-*Caſtle,* 203

22 To *the Earl of* Eſſex at Leſtithiel, *with another Letter to him, from the Officers of the Kings Army,* Auguſt 6. 1644. *from* Liskard *in* Cornwall, 204

23 To *Prince* Rupert *after the loſſe of* Briſtol, Auguſt 3. 1645. *from* Cardiffe, 208

24 To *the Marqueſſe of* Ormond, April 3. 1646 Oxford, 210

25 To *the P. of* Wales, June 2. 1646. Newcaſtle, 212. 389

26 To *the M. of* Ormond, June 11. 1646. Newcaſt. 213

27 To *the Governours of His Majeſties Garriſons,* June 10. 1646. *from* Newcaſtle, 213

28 To *the Duke of* York, July 4. 1647. Caſham, 214

29 To *Col.* Whaley, Nov. 11. 1647. Hamp. Court, 215

30 To *the* L. Mountague, Nov. 11.

11. 1647. *from* Hamp. Court, *with a Letter from* H. R. *to his Majesty*, Nov. 9. 1647. 216

31 *To Sir* Tho. Fairfax, Nov. 26. 1647 *from* Carisbrook Castle. 217

32 *To Sir* Tho. Fairfax, Nov. 27. 1647. *from* Carisbrook Castle, 218

33 *To the Lords Gentlemen, and Committee of the Scotch Parliament, together with the Officers of the Army*, July 3. 1648. *from* Carisbrook Castle, 219

His Majesties private Letters to the Queen and others, with the Queens Letters to his Majesty, intercepted and published by the Parl. With his Majesties Letter to Secr. *Nicholas*, concerning the publishing of them: and part of one of His Majesties Declarations concerning the same.

His Majesties Letter to Secr. Nicholas, *concerning the Parl. intercepting and publishing of his* Letters. 222

Part of His Majesties Declaration of June 3. 1643. *concerning some of the said Letters, intercepted and published*, 1643. 223

1 *To the Queen*, Jan. 23. 1642. Oxf.

The Contents.

Oxf. 225

2 To the Queen March 2. 1642.

Oxf. 226

3 To the Queen, Feb. 13. 1643.

228

4 To the Queen, Jan. 1. 1644.

Oxf. 229

5 To the Queen, January 9. 1644.

Oxf. 230

6 To the Queen, January 14. 1644.

Oxf. 231

7 To the Queen, Jan. 22. 1644.

Oxf. 233

8 To the Queen, Jan. 30. 1644.

Oxf. 234

9 To the Queen, March 13. 1644.

Oxf. 236

10 To the Queen, March 27. 1645.

Oxf. 238

11 To the Queen, March 30. 1645.

Oxf. 239

12 To the Queen, April 9. 1645.

Oxf. 241

13 To the Queen, May 4. 1645.

Oxf. 242

14 To the Queen, May 14. 1644.

Droitwitch, 243

15 To the Queen, June 9. 1645.

Oxf. 244

16 To the Queen, Decem. 1644.

Oxf. 246

17 To the Queen, January 2. 1645.

Oxf.

Oxf. 247
18 To the Queen, Feb. 19. 1645.
Oxf. 249
19 To the Queen, Feb. 25. 1645.
Oxf. 250
20 To the Queen, March 9. 1645.
Oxf. 251
21 To the Quen, March 20. 1645.
Oxf. 253
22 To M. of Ormond, Dec. 15.
1644. Oxf. 255
23 To the M. of Ormond, Jan. 7.
1644 Oxf. 256
24 To the M. of Ormond, Feb. 27.
1647. 258
25 To the D. of R. 259
26 To the Lord Jermin, April 24.
1645. Oxf. 260
27 The Q. to the King, Mar. 30.
1643. York, 262
28 The Q. to the King, Jun. 27.
1643 Newark. 263
29 The Q. to the King, April 3.
1644. 266
30 The Q. to the King, April 21.
1644. Bath, 265
31 The Q. to the King, Dec. 6.
1644. Paris, 266
32 The Q. to the King, Jan. 27.
1644. Paris. 267
33 The Q. to the King, March 13.
1644. Paris, 269

34 Memo-

34 *Memorials for Secretary* Nicholas *concerning the Treaty at* Uxbridge. 270

35 *Directions for my* Uxbridge *Commissioners.* 270

36 *Instructions for Col* Cockram, *to be pursued in his negotiations, &c.* 273

His Majesties own Answer to a Pamphlet, intituled, A Declaration of the Commons of *England, &c. expressing their Reasons for no further addresse, &c.* 280

Concerning Matters Sacred.

I.

The Papers which passed between His Majesty and the Ministers at *Newport* in the *Isle of Wight*, about Episcopacy, 1648.

HIs *Majesties first Paper concerning Episcopacy.* 293

The Ministers Answer. 294

His Majesties second Paper, 305

The Ministers second Paper 318

His Majesties finall Answer, 353
A Quære about Easter, propounded by His Majesty to the Parliaments Commissioners at Holmby, April 23. 1647. 388

II.

His Majesties Prayers, with others things relating to His Majesties Death.

1. *A Prayer used by His Majesty, at his entrance in State into the Cathedrall Church of* Exeter, *&c* 392
2 *A Prayer drawn by his Majesties speciall direction and dictates, for a blessing upon the Treaty at* Uxbridge, 393
3 *A Prayer drawn by his Majesties speciall directions for a blessing upon the Treaty at* Newport, *&c.* 393
4 *A Prayer for pardon of sin,* 394
5 *A Prayer and Confession in and for the times of Affliction,* 395
6 *A Prayer in times of imminent danger.* 396

The Contents.

Severall things relating to His Majesties Death.

1 *Three Quæres propounded by his Majesty when the Armies Remonstrance was read unto him at Newport, concerning their intended triall of his Majesty.* 39

2 *His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Injustice, &c.* 39

3 *The names of those persons, who had a pretended Commission from a few Members of the late House of Commons (acted by the Councell of War) &c.* 40

4 *The names of those persons, who at several all times appeared, and sat actually as Judges upon the King, where about 73. did passe sentence of death upon him. With the names of the Councell and Officers that attended them,* 40

5 *His Majesties last Speech on the Scaffold at his Martyrdom,* Jan. 30. 1648. 40

6 *The names of the Major and Aldermen of* London, *that proclaimed the Act against Monarchy,* 41

7 *A Speech made in Latin by Dr.* Lotius, *to King* Charls *the second*

In the name of the Consistory of Hague, *and in the presence of the rest of the Ministers of that Church, upon the death of K.* Charls *the first*, 7. Calend. Martii 1649. 414

8 *The same in English.* 416

Severall Verses made by divers persons upon His Majesties Death

1 *An Epitaph upon K.* Charls *by* I. H. 420

2 *Another by* A. B. 420

3 *Upon the Picture of his Majesty sitting in his Chair before the High Court of Injustice,* 421

4 *Upon the Picture of his Majesty in his blew Wastcoat,* 422

5 *An Elegy by the M. of* Montrosse, ibid.

6 *A deep Groan at the Funerall of that Incomparable and Glorious Monarch* Charls *the first, by* D. H. K. 423

The

THe Reader is desired to tak notice, That whereas there i publiſhed a late Book, intituled, *Ca tamen Religioſum, Or a Conference b tween His Majeſty and the late dece ſed Marqueſſe of* Worceſter, *concern ing divers points of Religion*, That Hi Majeſty is much wronged in th broken and imperfect Relatio which depends upon the memory credit of an obſcure perſon, who, it ſeems compoſed moſt of it, a publiſhed it divers years after th Conference; and that it doth ne ther in the ſtile, nor matter, agre with his Majeſties other Works, b in ſome things contradicts his Maj ſties judgement expreſſed in his o ther Tracts, as may appear i man places; eſpecially, in his Pape with *Hinderſon*, *Pap.* 5 compare with this Pamphlet, *p.* 116. &c. F which reaſons, as alſo becauſe it not atteſted by any authentick Wi neſs, and ſeems to be publiſhed fo other ends then are pretended, (t the Reader may eaſily diſcern) was not therefore thought worthy be joyned with his Majeſties othe genuine and undoubted Works.

Severa

Several Speeches delivered by His MAJESTY to the two Houses at *Westminster*, and at other places, since the beginning of this Parliament.

His Majesties *Speech to both Houses at the first meeting* Novemb. 3. 1640.

My Lords,

THE knowledge I had of the designes of my Scottish Subjects, was the cause of my calling the last Assembly of Parliament, wherein, had I been believed, I sincerely think, that things had not fallen out as now we see. But it is no wonder that men are so slow to believe that so great a Sedition should be raised on so little ground. But now, my Lords and Gentlemen, the honour and safety of this Kingdome lying so neerly at the stake, I am resolved to put my self freely and cleerly on the love and affections of my English Subjects, as those of my Lords that did wait on me at *York*, very well remember I there declared. Therefore, my Lords, I shall not mention mine own interest or that support I might justly expect from you, till the common safety be secured: though I must tell you, I am not ashamed to say, those char-

ges I have been at, have been meerly for the securing and good of this Kingdome, though the succes hath not been answerable to my desires. Therefore I shall only desire you to consider the best way both for the safety and security of this Kingdome, wherein there are two parts chiefly considerable. First, the chasing out of the Rebels. And secondly, that other, in satisfying your just grievances; wherein I shall promise you to concurre so heartily and clearly with you, that all the World may see my intentions have ever been, and shall be, to make this a glorious and flourishing Kingdome. There are only two things more that I shall mention to you: The one is to tell you, that the Loan of money which I lately had from the City of *London*, wherein the Lords that waited on me at *York* assisted me, will only maintain my Armie for two moneths, from the beginning of that time it was granted. Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, I leave it to your considerations, what dishonour and mischief it might be, in case for want of money my Army be disbanded, before the Rebells be put out of this Kingdome. Secondly, the securing the calamities the Northern People endure at this time, and so long as the Treaty is on foot. And in this I may say not only they but all this Kingdome will suffer the harm; therefore I leave this also to your consideration. For the ordering of these great affairs, whereof you are to treat at this time, I am so confident of your love to me, and that your care is such for the honour and safety of the Kingdome, that I shall freely and willingly leave to you where to begin: only this, that you may the better know the estate of all the affairs, I have commanded my Lord Keeper to give you a short and free account of those things that have happened in this interim, with this Protestation; that if his account be not satisfactory, as it ought to be, I shall

when

whensoever you desire, give you a full and perfect account of every particular. One thing more I desire of you, as one of the greatest means to make this a happy Parliament; that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay aside all suspicion one of another, as I promised my Lords at *York*: It shall not be my fault if this be not a happy and good Parliament.

His Majesties *second Speech to the House of Lords*, November, 5. 1640.

My Lords,

I Doe expect that you will hastily make relation to the House of Commons of those great affairs for which I have called you hither at this time, and of the trust I have reposed in them, and how freely I put my self on their love and affections at this time: And that you may know the better how to doe so, I shall explane my self concerning one thing I spake the last day. I told you the Rebells must be put out of this Kingdome; 'tis true, I must needs call them so, so long as they have an Armie that doe invade us, although I am under treaty with them, and under my great Seal doe call them Subjects, and so they are too. But the state of my affairs in short is this; Its true I did expect, when I did will my Lords the great ones to be at *York*, to have given a gracious answer to all your grievances; for I was in good hope, by their wisedomes and assistances, to have made an end of that businesse: but I must tell you, that my Subjects of *Scotland* did so delay them that it was not possible to end there: Therefore I can no more blame my Lords that were at *Rippon*, that the Treaty was not ended; but must thank them for their pains and industry: and certainly had they as much power as affections, I

should by that time have brought these distempers to a happy period; so that now the Treaty is transported from *Rippon* to *London*, where I shall conclude nothing without your knowledge, and I doubt not but by your approbation; for I doe not desire to have this great work done in a corner, for I shall lay open all the steps of this mis-understanding, and the causes of the great differences between Me and my Subjects of *Scotland* And I doubt not but by your assistance to make them know their duty, and also by your assistance to make them return whether they will or no.

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3. *His* Majesties *Speech to both Houses, at the Banquetting-house in White-Hall*, Jan. 25. 1640.

My Lords,

THe Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses; the principall cause of my comming here at this time, is by reason of the slow proceedings in Parliament, touching which is a great deal of inconvenience.

Therefore I think it very necessary to lay before you the state of my affairs as now they stand, thereby to hasten (not interrupt) your proceedings.

First, I must remember you, that there are two Armies in the Kingdome, in a manner maintained by you, the very naming of which doth more clearly shew the inconvenience thereof, than a better tongue than mine can expresse.

Therefore, in the first place, I shall recommend unto you the quick dispatch of that businesse, assuring you that it cannot rest upon Me.

In the next place I must recommend unto you the state of my Navie and Forts; the con-

dition

dition of both which is so well known unto you, that I need not tell you the particulars, only thus much; they are the walls and defence of this Kingdome, which if out of order, all men may easily judge what encouragement it will be to Our Enemies, and what disheartning to Our Friends.

Last of all (and not the least to be considered) I must lay before you the distractions that are at this present occasioned through the connivence of Parliament: for there are some men that, more maliciously than ignorantly, will put no difference between Reformation and alteration of government.

Hence it commeth that Divine Service is irreverently interrupted, and Petitions in an ill way given in, neither disputed nor denied. But I will enter into no more particulars, but shew you a way of remedy, by shewing you my clear intentions, and some Rocks that may hinder this good work.

I shall willingly and cheerfully concur with you for the Reformation of all Innovations both in Church and Common wealth; and consequently, that all Courts of Justice may be reformed according to Law. For my intention is clearly to reduce all things to the best and purest times, as they were in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Moreover, whatsoever part of my Revenue shall be found illegall or heavy to my Subjects I shall be willing to lay down, trusting in their affections. Having thus clearly and shortly set down my intentions, I will shew you some rubs, and must needs take notice of some very strange (I know not what term to give them) Petitions given in the names of divers Counties, against the established government of the Church and of the great threatnings against the Bishops, that they will make them to be but Cyphers, or at least, their voices to be taken away.

If some of them have incroached too much upon the Temporalty (if it be so) I shall not be unwilling these things should be redressed and reformed, as all other abuses, according to the wisdome of former times; so farre I shall goe with you, no farther.

If upon serious debate you shall shew that Bishops have some Temporal Authority, not so necessary for the government of the Church, and upholding Episcopal Jurisdiction; I shall not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down, but this must not be understood, that I shall any way consent that their voice in Parliament should be taken away: for in all the times of my Predecessors since the Conquest, and before, they have enjoyed it; I am bound to maintain them in it, as one of the fundamentall constitutions of this Kingdome.

There is one other Rock you are on, not in substance, but in form; and the form is so essential, that unlesse it be reformed, it will split you on that Rock.

There is a Bill lately put in concerning Parliaments. The thing I like well to have frequent Parliaments, but for the Sheriffs and Constables to use my Authority, I can no wayes consent unto.

But to shew that I desire to give you content in substance as well as in shew, you shall have a Bill for doing thereof, so that it doe not trench neither against my Honour, neither against the ancient Prerogatives of the Crown concerning Parliaments. For I ingenuously confesse, often Parliaments is the fittest means to keep correspondency between me and my people, that I doe so much desire.

To conclude, now all that I have shewn you, the state of My affairs, My own clear intentions, and the Rocks I would have you shun.

To give you all contentment, you shall likewise finde it by these Ministers, I have or shall have about me, for the effecting of these my

my good intentions, which shall redouble the peace of the Kingdome, and content you all. Concerning the Conference, you shall have a direct answer on Monday, which shall give you satisfaction.

His Majesties *Speech to both Houses in Answer to a Remonstrance about Papists, &c.* Feb. 3. 1640.

HAving taken into my serious consideration the late Remonstrance made unto me by the House of Parliament, I give you this Answer.

That I take in good part your care of the true Religion established in this Kingdom, from which I will never depart; as also your tenderness of my safety, and the security of this State and Government. It is against my minde, that Popery or Superstition should any way increase within this Kingdom. I will restrain the same, by causing the Laws to be put in execution.

I am resolved to provide against the Jesuites and Papists, by setting forth a Proclamation with all speed, commanding them to depart the Kingdom within one Moneth; of which if they fail, or shall return, then they shall be proceeded against according to the Laws.

Concerning *Rosettie*, I give you to understand, that the Queen hath alwayes assured me, that to her knowledge he hath no Commission, but only to retain a personall correspondence between her and the Pope, in things requisite for the exercise of her Religion, which is warranted to her by the Articles of Marriage, which give her a full liberty of Conscience: Yet I have perswaded her, that since the misunderstanding of that persons condition gives offence, she will within a convenient time remove him.

Moreover I will take a speciall care to re-
straine my Subjects from resorting to Masse at
Denmark house, St. *James's*, and the Chappels
of Ambassadors

Lastly, concerning *John Goodman* the Priest,
I will let you know the reason why I reprieved
Him, that as I am informed, neither Queen *Eli-*
zabeth, nor my Father did ever avow, that any
Priest in their times was executed meerly for
Religion, which to me seems to be this parti-
cular case: yet seeing that I am pressed by
both Houses to give way to this, because I will
avoid the inconveniency of giving so great dis-
content to my people, as I conceive this Mercy
may produce, therefore I doe remit this parti-
cular case to both the Houses: But I desire them
to take into their consideration the inconvenien-
ces (as I conceive) that may upon this occasion
fall upon my Subjects and other Protestants
abroad, especially since it may seem to other
States to be a severity: which having thus
represented, I think my self discharged from
all ill consequences that may ensue upon the
execution of this person.

His Majesties *Speech at the passing of the Bill for*
Triennial Parliaments, Feb. 15. 1640.

MY Lords, and you the Knights, Citi-
zens, and Burgesses of the House of
Commons; You may remember when both
Houses were with Me at the Banquetting-house
at *White-Hall*, I did declare unto you two
Rocks I wished you to eschew, this is the one
of them, and of that consequence, that I think
never Bill passed here in this House of more
favour to the Subjects than this is; and if the
other Rock be as happily passed over as this
shall be at this time, I doe not know what you
can ask for ought I can see at this time that

I can

I can make any question to yeeld unto: Therefore I mention this to shew unto you the sense that I have of this Bill, and the Obligation, as I may say, that you have to me for it; for hitherto, to speak freely, I had no great encouragement to doe it; If I should look to the outward face of your actions or proceedings, and not look to the inward intentions of your hearts I might make question of doing it.

Hitherto you have gone on in that which concerns your selves to amend, and not in those things that neerly concern the strength of this Kingdome, neither for the State nor my own particular.

This I mention, not to reproach you, but to shew you the state of things as they are, you have taken the Government all in pieces, and, I may say, it is almost off the hinges.

A skilful Watchmaker to make clean his Watch, will take it asunder, and when it is put together, it will goe the better, so that he leave forth then not one pin in it.

Now as I have done all this on my part, you know what to doe on your parts, and I hope you shall see cleerly that I have performed really what I expressed to you at the beginning of this Parliament, of the great trust I have of your affections to me, and this is the great expression of trust, that before you doe any thing for me, that I doe put such a confidence in you.

His Majesties *Speech to the Lords and Commons in the Banquetting house at* White-Hall, *about disbanding the Armies in* Ireland *and* England, &c. Aprill 28. 1641.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, for answer to your desires, I say,

First, Concerning the removall of Papists

from Court, I am sure you all know what legall trust the Crown hath in this particular: and therefore I need not say any thing to give you assurance that I shall use it so, that there shall be no just cause of scandal.

Secondly, For disarming of Papists, I am very well content it shall be done according to Law.

Thirdly, For the Irish Army, you must understand I am already upon consultation how to disband it, but I finde many difficulties in it: therefore I hold it not onely fit to wish it, but to shew the way how it may be conveniently done.

This is not all I desire: but since you have mentioned the disbanding of Armies, it is my duty to my Country to wish for disbanding of all Armies; and to restore the same peace to all my three Kingdoms, that the King my Father did leave them in: And I conjure you, as you will answer the same to God, and to your Country, to joyn with me heartily & speedily, for the disbanding of the two Armies in *England*. This is a very good time to speak of it, and there are but two wayes to doe it.

One is, to answer their Petitions, and the second is, to provide Monies. You are Masters of the one, and with Me you are Judges of the other. And you shall not be readier, nor so ready to bring this to a happy conclusion, as I my self shall be.

His Majesties *Speech in the Lords House, before he passed the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of* Strafford, *May* 1. 1641.

My Lords.

I Had no intention to speak of this businesse this day, which is the great businesse concerning my Lord of *Strafford*, because I would doe nothing

nothing that might serve to hinder your occasions. But now it comes so to passe, that seeing of necessity I must have part in that Judgement, I think it most necessary for me to declare my conscience therein.

I am sure you all know, I have been present at the hearing of this businesse from the one end to the other. And I must tell you, that in my conscience I cannot condemne him of High Treason.

It is not fit for me to argue this businesse; I am sure you will not expect that; A positive Doctrine best becomes the mouth of a Prince.

Yet I must tell you three truths, which I am sure no body can tell so well as My Self

1. That I never had any intention of bringing over the Irish Army, nor ever was advised by any body so to doe.

2. There never was any debate before Me either in publick Councel, or private Committee, of the disloyalty of My English Subjects, nor ever had I any suspicion of them.

3. That I never was counselled by any to alter the least of any of the Laws of *England*, much lesse to alter all the Laws. Nay, I tell you this, I think no body durst ever be so impudent, as to move me to it: For if they had, I should have made them such an example, and put such a mark upon them, that all posterity should know my intentions by it; for my intention was ever to govern by the Laws and no otherwise.

I desire to be rightly understood; for though I tell you in my conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason, yet I cannot say I can clear him of Misdemeanors. Therefore I hope that you may finde out a way to satisfie Justice, and your own fears, and not to presse my conscience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender thing Conscience is: And I must declare unto you, that to satisfie the people, I would doe great

great matters, but in this of conscience, neither fear nor any other respect whatsoever, shall ever make me goe against it.

His Majesties *Speech to both Houses at the passing of the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage*, June 22. 1641.

I Doe very willingly accept your offer made at this time, as a Testimony of your love, and beginning of your dutifull affections unto Me: and I no way doubt, but that you will perform that which you have intimated unto Me; and that in due time you will perform the rest, when you have leisure.

I doe not doubt likewise, but that in passing this Bill you will see a testimony of the trust and confidence I have in your affections; as also that I omit no occasion whereby I may shew that affection to my people, that I desire my people would shew to me, as in this Parliament, hitherto no body can say, but that I have sought occasions both to shew my affections unto them, and to remove disputes.

And therefore in this particular Bill I hope you will know that I doe freely and frankly give over the right which my Predecessors have ever challenged unto them (though I confesse disputed, but yet they did never yeeld in their times) Therefore you will understand this but a mark of my confidence to put my Self wholly upon the love and affection of my people for my subsistence: And therefore I hope, that in prosecution of this you will goe on as you have said; and that though you have rumors of jealousies and suspicions, by flying and idle discourses, that have come to my eares, concerning the extraordinary way, I confesse I never understood it otherwise than as having relation to the Scottish Army, and preventing insurrection, which vanished

ſted as ſoon as they were born.

And therefore now you ſee my cleerneſſe, I leave that to you, and will not meddle with it one way or other for I never had other deſigne, but to win the affections of my people by my Juſtice in my Government.

His Majeſties *Speech to both Houſes, at the paſſing of the Bills for the taking away the High-Commiſſion and Star-Chamber, and regulating the Counſell Table,* July 5. 1641.

I Come to doe the office which I forbore to doe on Saturday laſt, to give determination to theſe two Bills: But before I doe it, I muſt tell you, that I cannot but be very ſenſible of thoſe reports of diſcontent, that I hear ſome have taken for not giving my conſent on Saturday. Me thinks it ſeems ſtrange, that any one ſhould think I could paſſe two Bils of that importance as theſe were, without taking ſome fit time to conſider of them; for it is no leſſe than to alter in a great meaſure, thoſe fundamentall Lawſ, Eccleſiaſticall, and Civill, which many of my Predeceſſors have eſtabliſhed.

If you conſider what I have done this Parliament, diſcontent will not ſit in your hearts, for I hope you remember that I have granted, That the Judges hereafter ſhall hold their places, *Quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*: I have bounded the Forreſts, not according to my right, but according to late Cuſtomes.

I have eſtabliſhed the property of the Subjects, witneſſe the free giving, not taking away the Ship money.

I have eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, the property of the Subject in Tonnage and Poundage, which never was done in any my Predeceſſors times: I have granted a Law for Triennall Parliaments, and given way to an Act for

the

the securing of monies advanced for the disbanding of the Armies; I have given free course of Justice against Delinquents; I have put the Law in execution against Papists.

Nay, I have given way to every thing that you have asked of me, and therefore me thinks you should not wonder, if in some things I begin to refuse. But I hope it shall not hinder your progresse in your great affairs, and I will not stick upon trivial matters, to give you content: I hope you are sensible of these beneficial favours bestowed on you at this time.

To conclude: You know that, by your consent, there is a prefixed time set for my going into *Scotland*, and there is an absolute necessity for it; I doe not know but that things may so fall out that it may be shortned; therefore I hope you will hasten the dispatching of those great businesses that now are necessarie to be done, and leave trivial and superficial matters to another meeting.

For my part I shall omit nothing that may give you just contentment, and study nothing more than your happinesse, and thereof I hope you shall see a very good testimony by passing these two Bills.

Le Roy le veult.

This being done, his Majestie said as followeth.

I have one word more to speake unto you, and I take now an occasion to present it unto both Houses, that thereby I hope all the World shall see, that there is a good understanding between me and my people.

It is concerning my Nephew the Prince Elector Palatine, who having desired me and the King of *Denmark* to give way to a writing concerning the Dyet at *Ratisbone* with the Emperor. I could not but send my Ambassador to assist him, though I am afraid I shall not have so good an answer as I expect; which my Nephew foreseeing, hath desired me for the better countenance of the same, to make a *Manifesta-*

fesse in My Name, which is a thing of great consequence. And if I should doe it alone, without the advice of my Parliament, it would rather be a scorn than otherwise: Therefore I doe propose it unto you, that if you will advise me to it, I think it were very fit to be published in my Name.

His Majesties *Speech to the Scotch Parliament at* Edinbrough, Aug. 19. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THere hath nothing been so displeasing to me as those unlucky differences, which have happened between me and my people, and nothing that I have more desired than to see this day; wherein I hope not only to settle these unhappy mistakings, but rightly to know and to be known of my native Country. I need not tell you (for I think it is well known to most) what difficulties I have passed through and overcome, to be here at this present: Yet this will I say, If love to my native Country had not been a chief motive to this Journey, other respects might easily have found a shift to doe that by a Commission which I am come to inform my self; and (this considered) I cannot doubt of such reall testimonies of your affections for the maintenance of that Royall power which I enjoy after 108 discents, and which you have so often professed to maintain, and to which your own Nationall Oath doth oblige you, that I shall not think any pains ill bestowed. Now the end of my comming is shortly this, to perfect whatsoever I have promised, and withall, to quiet the distractions which have and may fall out amongst you: In this I minde not superficially, but fully and cheerfully to perform: For I assure you that I can doe nothing with more cheerfullness

nesse than to give my people a generall satisfaction: wherefore, not offering to endeer myself unto you in word (which indeed is not my way) I desire in the first place to settle that which concerns the Religion and just Liberties of this my native Country, before I proceed to any other Act.

His Majesties *Speech to both Houses, after* [illegible] *return from* Scotland, Decemb. 2. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Think it fit, after so long absence at the first occasion, to speak a few words unto you, but it is no wayes in answer to Mr. Speaker's learned Speech: Albeit I have staid longer than I expected to have done when I was away, yet in this I have kept my promise with you, that I have made all the haste back again that the setling of my Scotch Affairs could any wayes permit, in which I have had so good successe, that I will confidently affirm to you, that I have left that Nation a most peaceable and contented People; So that although I have a little misreckoned in time, yet I was not deceived in my end.

But if I have deceived your expectations a little in the time of my return, yet I am assured that my expectation is as much and more deceived in the condition wherein I hoped to have found some businesses at my return. For since that before my going I setled the Liberties of my Subjects, and gave the Laws a free and orderly course, I expected to have found my people reaping the fruits of these benefits, by living in quietnesse and satisfaction of minde: But in stead of this, I finde them disturbed with Jealousies, Frights, and Alarms of dangerous Designes and Plots, in consequence of which Guards have been set to defend both Houses.

I say

I say not this as in doubt that my Subjects affections are any way lessened to me in this time of my absence; for I cannot but remember, to my great comfort, the joyfull reception I had now at my entry into *London*, but rather as I hope that my presence will easily disperse these fears: For I bring as perfect and true affections to my people as ever Prince did, or as good Subjects can possibly desire. And I am so farre from repenting me of any Act I have done this Session for the good of my People, that I protest, if it were to doe again, I would doe it, and will yet grant what else can be justly desired for satisfaction in point of Liberties, or in maintenance of the true Religion that is here established.

Now I have but one particular to recommend unto you at this time, it is *Ireland*; for which, though I doubt not your care, yet me thinks the preparations for it goes but slowly on. The occasion is the fitter for me now to mention it, because of the arrivall of two Lords from *Scotland*, who come instructed from my Councel there (who now by Act of Parliament have full power for that purpose) to answer that Demand, which it pleased both Houses to make of me by way of Petition, that met me at *Barwick*, and which the Duke of *Richmond* sent back by my command to my Scotch Councel: Therefore my desire is, That both Houses would appoint a select Committee, to end this business with these Noblemen. I must conclude in telling you That I seek my Peoples happiness, for their flourishing is my greatest glory, and their affections my greatest strength.

His

His Majesties *Speech to both Houses about Ireland, and the Bill for pressing Souldiers.* Decemb. 14. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THe last time that I was in this place, and the last thing that I recommended unto you, was the business of *Ireland*, whereby I was in good hope that I should not have needed again to have put you in minde of that business; but still seeing the slow proceedings therein, and the daily Dispatches that I have out of *Ireland* of the lamentable estate of my Protestant Subjects there, I cannot but again earnestly recommend the dispatch of that expedition unto you, for it is the chief business, that at this time I take to heart, and there cannot almost be any business that I can have more care of. I might now take up some of your time in expressing my detestation of Rebellions in generall, and of this in particular: But knowing that Deeds and not Declarations must suppress this great insolencie, I doe here in a word offer you whatsoever my power, paines or industry can contribute to this good and necessary work of reducing the Irish Nation to their true and wonted obedience.

And that nothing may be omitted on my part, I must here take notice of the Bill for Pressing of Souldiers now depending among you my Lords, concerning which I here declare, That in case it come so to me, as it may not infringe or diminish my Prerogative, I will pass it: And further, seeing there is a dispute raised (I being little beholding to him whosoever at this time began it) concerning the bounds of this ancient and undoubted Prerogative, to avoid further debate at this time, I offer, that the Bill may pass with a *salvo jure*, both for King and People, leaving such debates to a time

that

at may better bear it. If this be not accep-
d, the fault is not mine, that this Bill pass
t, but those that refuse so fair an offer.
To conclude, I conjure you by all that is, or
be dear to you or me, that laying away all
putes, you goe on cheerfully and speedily for
e reducing of *Ireland*.

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is Majesties *Speech in the House of Commons, about the five Members*, Jan. 4. 1641.

Gentlemen,

I Am sorry for this occasion of comming unto you: yesterday I sent a Sergeant at Arms upon a very important occasion to apprehend some that, by my command, were accused of High-Treason, whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a Message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit no King that ever was in *England* shall be more careful of your priviledges to maintain them to the uttermost of his power than I shall be; yet you must know, that in cases of Treason no person hath a priviledge; and therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that were accused are here; for I must tell you, Gentlemen, that so long as these persons that I have accused (for no slight crime, but for Treason) are here, I cannot expect that this House can be in the right way that I doe heartily wish it: Therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them wheresoever I finde them: Well, sithence I see all the Birds are flown, I doe expect from you, that you shall send them unto me, as soon as they return hither: But I assure you, in the word of a King, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other.

And now sithence I see I cannot doe what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion, to re-

peat

peat what I have said formerly; That wh
ever I have done in favour, and to the goo
my Subjects. I doe mean to maintain it
I will trouble you no more, but tell yo
doe expect, as soon as they come to the Ho
you will send them to me, otherwise I
take my own course to finde them.

His Majesties *Speech at* Guild Hall, *about*
five Members, Jan. 5. 1641.

Gentlemen,

I Am come to demand such prisoners
have already attainted of High-Trea
and doe believe they are shrouded in the C
I hope no good man will keep them from
their offences are Treason, and misdemea
of an high nature: I desire your loving
stance herein, that they may be brought
legal trial.

And whereas there are divers suspic
raised, that I am a favourer of the Popish
ligion I doe professe in the name of a K
that I did and ever will. and that to the ut
of my power, be a prosecutor of all such
shall any way oppose the Laws and Statute
this Kingdome, either Papist or Separat
and not only so, but I will maintain and
fend that true Protestant Religion which
Father did professe, and I will still contin
during life.

His Majesties *Speech at* Theobalds, *at the*
livery of the Petition for the Militia, M
1. 1641.

I Am so much amazed at this Message, t
I know not what to answer: You spe

Jealousies and Fears: Lay your hands to your hearts, and ask your selves whether I may likewise be disturbed with Fears and Jealousies: And if so, I assure you this Message hath nothing lessened them.

For the Militia, I thought so much of it before I sent that Answer, and am so much assured that the Answer is agreeable to what in Justice or reason you can ask, or I in Honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point

For my residence neer you, I wish it might be so safe and honourable, that I had no cause to absent my self from *White-Hall*; Ask your selves whether I have not?

For my Son, I shall take that care of him, which shall justifie me to God as a Father, and to my Dominions as a King.

To conclude, I assure you upon my Honour that I have no thought but of peace and Justice to my people, which I shall by all fair means seek to preserve and maintain, relying upon the goodnesse and providence of God, for the preservation of My Self and Rights.

His Majesties *Speech at Newmarket to the Earl* of Holland, Pembroke, *and the rest of the Committee that presented the Declaration*, March 9 1641.

I Am confident that you expect not I should give you a speedy Answer to this strange and unexpected Declaration: And I am sorry (in the distraction of this Kingdom) you should think this way of Addresse to be more convenient, than that proposed by my Message of the 5 of January last, to both Houses.

As concerning the grounds of your Fears and Jealousies, I will take time to answer particularly, and doubt not but I shall doe it to the satisfaction of all the World. God, in his good time,

time, will, I hope, discover the secrets a bottoms of all Plots and Treasons, and the shall stand right in the eyes of all my peop In the mean time, I must tell you, That I ther expected a Vindication for the impu tion laid on me in Mr *Pims* Speech, than any more generall Rumors and Discou should get credit with you

For my Fears and Doubts, I did not th they should have been thought so groundl or triviall, while so many seditious Pamph and Sermons are looked upon, and so gr Tumults are remembred, unpunished, u quired into: I still confesse my Fears, and God to witnesse, That they are greater for true Protestant profession, my People, Laws, than for my own Rights or safety though I must tell you, I conceive that not these are free from danger.

What would you have? Have I viola your Laws? Have I denyed to passe any Bill for the ease and security of my Subje I doe not ask you what you have done f Me.

Have any of my people been transport with Fears and Apprehensions? I have offe as free and generall a pardon, as your selv can devise. All this considered, There is Judgement from Heaven upon this Nation, these Distraction continue.

God so deal with Me and mine, as all m thoughts and intentions are upright for th maintenance of the true Protestant profession and for the observation and preservation of th Laws of this Land: And, I hope, God wi blesse and assist those Laws for my preserv tion

As for the additional Declaration, you are t expect an answer to it when you shall recei the Answer to the Declaration it self.

Sp

ome Passages that happened the ninth of March, between the Kings Majesty and the Committee of both Houses, when the Declaration was delivered.

WHen his Majesty heard that part of the Declaration which mentioned Mr. *Jermins* Transportation, his Majesty interrupted the Earl of *Holland* in reading, and said, hat's false. Which being afterwards toucht on again, His Majesty then said, 'Tis a lye, nd when he was informed. it related not to e Date, but the execution of the Warrant, is Majesty said, It might have been better exessed then, and that it was a high thing to x a King with breach of promise. As for this eclaration, His Majesty said, I could not ve believed the Parliament would have sent e such an one, if I had not seen it brought by ch persons of honour. I am sorry for the Parment, but glad I have it. For by that I doubt t to satisfie My people; though I am confint the greater part is so already

Yes peak of ill Counsells, but I am confint the Parliament hath had worse informaon than I have had Counsells. His Majesty ing, What he had denyed the Parliament? e Earl of *Holland* instanced that of the ilitia. His Majesty replyed, That was no Bill: e Earl of *Holland* then said, It was a necessequest at this time: And His Majesty also said, He had not denyed it.

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hat passed the next day, when His Majesty delivered His Answer,

WHich was read by the Earl of *Holland* to the rest of the Committee. And that ng done, His Lordship endeavoured to perswade

swade His Majesty to come near the Parli-
ment. Whereunto His Majesty answered, I
would you had given me cause, but I am sur
this Declaration is not the way to it. And i
all *Aristotles Rhetoricks* there is no such argu
ment of perswasion. The Earl of *Pembrok*
thereupon telling him, that the Parliame
had humbly besought His Majesty to co
near them, as aforesaid, His Majesty reply
He had learnt by our Declaration that wo
were not sufficient. His Majesty being the
gain moved by the said Earl of *Pembroke*,
expresse what he would have, said He wo
whip a boy in *Westminster* School that co
not tell that by His Answer. And further
They were much mistaken, if they thought H
Answer of that, a deniall. And being also
ked by the said Earl of *Pembroke*, Whether
Militia might not be granted, as was dem
by the Parliament for a time? His Majes
answered, not for an hour: You have
that of Me in this, was never askt of a Ki
and with which I will not trust my Wife
Children.

His Majesty *said, The businesse of* Ireland
*never be done in the way that you are i
Four hundred will never doe that work
must be put into the hands of one. If I w
trusted with it, I will pawn my head to
that work. And though I am a Begger
self, yet (speaking with a strong asseveratio
I can finde money for that.*

His Majesties Speech to the Sheriff, Ministers, Gentry, &c. of York-shire, when they presented their Petition, April 5. 1642.

Master Sheriff, and Gentlemen.

I Believe you expect not a present and particular answer to your Petition, because it is new to me: Only in generall I must tell you, That I see by it, that I am not deceived in the confidence I have in the affections of this County to My person and State; and I assure you that I will not deceive your confidence, which at this time you have declared in your petition to have in Me: And I am glad to see that it is not upon mistaken grounds, as other petitions have been to me since I came to this place: Concerning which, let Me observe unto you, That my Answers were to clear those mistakings, for I never did goe about to punish or discourage them from petitioning to Me in an humble way, though the Subject did not agree with my sense; albeit within the memory of man, people have been discouraged, and threatned to be punished for petitions.

I observe that your petition is so modest, that it doth not mention any particular for your own good; which indeed I expected, as knowing that in some particulars you have great reason to doe: and therefore that you may not be the worse for your modesty, I will put you in minde of three particulars, which I conceive to be for the good of this County.

The first is concerning your trained Bands, to reduce them to a lesser number; for which I confesse to stand ingaged by promise to you, which I had performed long since if I had been put in minde of it: And now I tell you, shew Me but the way, and (when you shall think fit) I shall instantly reduce them to that number which I promised you two years ago.

The second is That which is owing to this County for Billet-money; the truth is, that for the present I cannot repay it: Only I will say this, That if all the water had gone to the right Mill, (upon my word) you had been long ago satisfied in this particular. And so I leave to your discretions which way you will advise and assist Me to comply with the engagement to you in this point.

The third is, That for which I was petitioned as I came up the last year, both by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this City, and likewise by divers others of this County, as I went Southward; And that is concerning the Court of *York*: And first let me tell you, That as I know no legall dissolution of it; for hitherto formally, there is nothing come to Me, either directly or indirectly, for the taking it away: therefore I may say, it is rather lain in pieces than dissolved. Now My desire is for compliance to what I answered the last year unto the severall petitions delivered to Me then on this Subject, That you would consult and agree among your selves, in what manner you would have the Court established most to your own contentments, and to the good of all the Northern parts, in such a legall way, as that may not justly be excepted against, and I tell you in the word of an honest Man, that you shall not blame Me, if you have not full satisfaction in it.

Within a day or two, ye shall have a particular Answer to your petition, which shall be such an one as I am confident will give you good satisfaction, and put you into such a way as, I hope, may produce good effects for the good of all this Kingdom.

His Majesties *Speech to the Gentry of* Yorkshire, *attending His Majesty at* York May 12. 1641.

Gentlemen,

I Have cause of adding, not altering, what I meant to say: When I gave out the Summons for this dayes appearance, I little thought of these Messengers, or of such a Message as they brought; the which, because it confirms me in what I intend to speak, and that I desire you should be truly informed of all passages between me and the Parliament, you shall here read First, my Answer to the Declaration of both Houses concerning *Hull*, the Answer of the Parliament to my two Messages concerning *Hull* together with my Reply to the same, and my Message to both Houses, declaring the reasons why I refused to passe the Bill concerning the Militia.

All which being read, his Majesty proceeded

I Will make no paraphrases upon what you have heard, it more befitting a Lawyer than a King, only this observation, since Treason is countenanced so neer Me, it is time to look to my safety: I avow, it was part of my wonder, that men (whom I thought heretofore discreet and moderate) should have undertaken this imployment, and that since they came (I having delivered them the Answer you have heard, and commanded them to return personally with it to the Parliament) should have flatly disobeyed me upon pretence of the Parliaments command. My end in telling you this, is to warn you of them; for since these Men have brought me such a Message, and disobeyed so lawfull a Command I will not say what their intent of coming here is, only I bid you take heed, not knowing what Doctrine of Disobedience they may preach to you, under colour of obeying

the Parliament. Hitherto I have found m
kept you quiet, the enjoying of which wa
chief cause of my comming hither (Tumults a
Disorders having made me leave the Sou
and not to make this a seat of War, as M.
would (but I hope in vain) make you belie
Now if disturbances come, I know whom
have reason to suspect.

To be short, you see that my Magazin
going to be taken from me (being my o
proper goods) directly against my will;
Militia (against Law and my content) is go
to be put in execution: And lastly, Sir
Hotham's Treason is countenanced. All
considered, none can blame me to appreh
dangers. Therefore I have thought fit (u
these reall grounds) to tell you that I am m
ved to have a Guard (the Parliament ha
had one all this while upon imaginary Jea
sies) only to secure my person. In which I
sire your concurrence and assistance, and t
I may be able to protect you, the Laws,
the true Protestant profession from any at
or injury that may be offered, which I me
maintain my Self, without charge to the C
trey, intending not longer to keep them
foot than I shall be secured of my justa
hensions by having satisfaction in the partic
before mentioned.

His Majesties *Speech to the Knights, Gentl
and Freeholders of the County of* Notti
at Newark, July 4. 1642.

Gentlemen,

YOur honest Resolutions and Affectio
Me and your Countrey, for the defe
My Person and the Laws of the Land,
been, and are so notable, that they have
Me hither only to thank you: I goe to

places to confirm and undeceive my Subjects, but am come hither only to thank and encourage you: You have made the best judgement of happinesse, by relying on that foundation, which the experience of so many hundred years hath given such proof of, The assurance and security of the Law: And assure your selves, when Laws shall be altered by any other Authority than that by which they were made, your foundations are destroyed. And though it seems at first but to take away my power, it will quickly swallow all your interest. I ask nothing of you (though your demeanor gives me good evidence that you are not willing to deny) but to preserve your own affections to the Religion and Laws established; I will justifie and protect those affections, and will live and dye with you in that quarrel.

His Majesties *Speech to the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of* Lincoln, *at* Lincoln, July 15. 1642.

Gentlemen,

IF I could have suspected your affections, or have censured the duty of this County by some late Actions in it, I should not have taken this pains, to have given you a testimony of my affection to you, and to remove those objections, which, being raised by a Malignant party, may, by their cunning and industry, get credit even with honest minded. The truth is, I come to you, to assure you of my purposes and resolutions, for the defence of whatever is and should be dear unto you, your Religion, your Liberty, your common interest, and the Law of the Land. And to undeceive you of that opinion, which I hear hath misled many of you, that the pretended Ordinance of the Militia is warranted by My

Consent and Authority: As I have already informed you, by My several Declarations and Messages, that the same is against the known Law, and an invasion of my unquestionable Right, and of your Liberty and property, so I doe now declare unto you, that the same is imposed upon you against My expresse Consent and in contempt of my Regal Authority: And therefore whosoever shall hereafter presume to Execute or Obey the same, I shall proceed against them, as against such who promote Rebellion, And actually levy war against Me. And I doubt not but you will sadly consider That if any Authority without and against Me Consent may lawfully impose such burthens upon you, it may likewise take away all that you have from you, & subject you to their lawlesse Arbitrary power and Government: And how far they are like to exercise that jurisdiction towards you, you may guesse by the insolence of Sir *John Hotham* at *Hull*, who (being a Subject) not only presumes to keep his Sovereign, by force of Armes, out of His Town, but murthers his fellow Subjects, imprisons them, burns their Houses, drowns their Lands, takes them captive, and commits such Outrages and Acts of Hostilitie as the most unequal and outragious Enemies practise in any Countrey, That you may see how impossible it is for your Liberties and Properties to be preserved when your King is oppressed, and His just Rights taken from Him. Who hath brought these calamities upon your Neighbours at *Hull*, every Man sees; and they only can bring the same upon you. I will not believe you to be so insensible of the benefits you have received from Me, that I need put you in minde of the Gracious Acts passed by Me this Parliament on your behalfs: And if there be any thing wanting to the making you the happiest Subjects in the World. I assure it is not my fault that you have not it

too, Be not deceived with words and general expressions; it is not in your power to name one particular which might make you happy, that I have refused to grant: Be not frighted with apprehensions, That this Country is like to be the seat of a War; the seat of a War will be onely where persons rise in Rebellion against Me; That will not, I hope, be here, and then you shall be sure of my protection. I will live and dye in your defence. And that you may be in a readinesse and a posture to defend your selves and Me against any Invasion or Rebellion, I have armed several persons of Honour, Quality, and Reputation amongst you, and of your own Country, with a Commission of Array to that purpose. There is no honest end declared in that Ordinance, which is not provided for by this Commission, which being according to the old known Law, is fit for your obedience, and I doubt not but you will finde it.

In a word, I assure you upon the Faith and Honour of a Christian King, I will be alwaies as tender of any thing which may advance the true Protestant Religion, protect and preserve the Laws of the Land, and defend the just priviledge and freedom of Parliament, as of my Life or my Crown: and when I fail in either of these, I will not look for your assistance; till then you are concerned not to see Me suffer.

His Majesties Speech to the Gentlemen, Freeholders and Inhabitants of Leicester, *at* Leicester, July 20. 1642.

Gentlemen,

Since I have found my presence so very acceptable amongst My good Subjects in these Northern parts, and that the Errors and

Mistakes amongst them have wholly proceed
from mis-information, and are removed w
more satisfaction and ease to them than th
were received: I hold it a piece of my dut
to take the utmost pains I can, fully to infor
and undeceive My people and rather to pr
vent Crimes than to punish them: In this E
rand I am come to you, amongst whom the
hath not been the least misunderstanding, to the
you, That I doe not suspect any malice in th
place of in the people, though persons of
ill dispositions have been busie in it, and among
you, as in any County in *England*, and
who have taken as great pains to doe mischi
and to bring confusion as good men shou
for peace and happinesse: Though 'tis as tr
that very many worthier persons amongst yo
have appeared of contrary affections, which
shall alwaies acknowledge. I am come to yo
in a time too, when nothing could invite M
to such a journey, but my affection to, a
good esteem of you; having sent such propo
positions of peace and accommodation to m
two Houses of Parliament, that I hope t
have no other use of your affections, but in you
prayers; being sure they will submit to them
with alacrity, if the unexcusable Enemies t
the Peace of the Kingdome be not strong
enough to prevail: And then you will finde
your selves so much concerned (for I have re-
quired nothing that with more justice can be
denied Me (if it be duly weighed) then my
Crown or my life may be taken from me) that
I shall not need to ask your assistance: I know
you will bring Horse, Men, Money, and Hearts
worthy such a Cause. Your Religion, your
Liberties, your Laws, (which I will defend
with my life, I mean the good known Laws of
the Land not Ordinances without my con-
sent, which, till within these twelve monethes
was never heard of from the foundation of this
Kingdome) will be the Quarrel: And in such
a Cause

Cause, the taking away my Towns, Ships, Armes, and Money from Me, shall not discourage Me: the concurrence and affection of My people, with Gods blessing, will supply and recover all.

His Majesties *Speech to the Gentlemen of Yorkshire*, August 4. 1642.

Gentlemen,

WHen I directed that summons should be sent out for your meeting here this day, My principal end was, That I might give you thanks for the great forwardnesse and expressions you have made of your affections to Me since I came into this Countrey: And to assure you, That as the whole Kingdome hath great reason to value you exceedingly for it, so I shall be very unsatisfied with my Self, till I have found some way to fix a mark of favour and estimation upon this County and this people, which may tell posterity how good Subjects you have been, and how much Gentlemen; and I am confident the memory of it will grow up with My Sons too in a just acknowledgement. This was the most I intended to say to you; but there is an unquiet spirit abroad, which every day throws in new accidents to disturb and confound the publique peace. How I was driven from *London*, when I chose this place for my safety, is so notorious, that all men know it, who know any thing; with what strange violence and indignities I have been pursued since I came hither, needs no other evidence than Sir *John Hothams* behaviour at *Hull*, who is now arrived to that insolence, that he will not suffer his Treason to be longer confined within those walls, but makes sallies out of the Town upon his fellow Subjects,

drowns their Land, burns and plunders their Houses, murthers, and with unheard of crucky, torments their persons; And this with so much delight, That he would not have the patience to wait what Answer should be sent to My just Demands, though in that respect I engaged My Self, to forbear to use any force, and kept my word; but chose the night before that came, (as if he knew well what Answer I was to receive) to act those Outrages.

Yet see the sad effects of Fears and Jealousies, the miseries they have produced; No man can tell you the least good they have brought forth, or the least evill they have prevented: What inconvenience and burthen My presence hath been here, what disturbance it hath brought upon the publick, or grievance upon any private person, your selves are best Judges: And whatever scandall some men have pleased to cast upon the Cavaliers (which they intend should reach all my Retinue, and by degrees shall involve all Gentlemen) I am confident, there hath not been any eminent disorder or damage befallen any Man, by any person of my Train, or under my protection.

I am sure my directions have been very strict in that point, and if they had not been observed, I think I should have heard of it by neerer complainrs, than from *London*; I pray God the same care may be taken there: I am sure it hath not been. And to give you the fullest testimony of My affection to you, and to the peace of this County, and to shew you that no provocation shall provoke Me to make this place to be the seat of the War. I have for your sake, passed over the consideration of Honour, and notwithstanding the reproaches every day laid on Me, laid no siege to that place, that they may not have the least pretence of doing you mischief, but

resolve

reſolve by Gods help to recover *Hull* ſome other way, for that I will ever ſit down under ſo bold and unexcuſable a Treaſon no honeſt man can imagin. But it ſeems other men are not of my minde, but reſolve to make a War at your own doors, whatſoever you doe, or I ſuffer. To what purpoſe elſe is their new Generall armed with an authority, to kill and deſtroy all my good Subjects; their levies of Horſe and Foot, ſome whereof are upon their march towards you, with Cannon mounted, and the ſending ſo many new ſouldiers into *Hull*, when there is no approach made towards it, but to ſally out, and to commit Rapine, and by degrees to pour out an Army upon you: In this I muſt aſk your advice, what you would doe for your ſelves, and what you would have Me doe for you: you ſee how I am ſtript of my Navy at Sea, which is imployed againſt me, of my Forts and Towns at Land, which are filled with armed men to deſtroy me, my money and proviſions of my Houſe taken from me, and all my Subjects forbid and threatned if they come neer me, that I may by Famine or Solitarineſſe be compelled to yeeld to the moſt diſhonourable Propoſitions, and to put my Self and Children into the hands of a few Malignant perſons, who have entred into a Combination to deſtroy Vs: And all this done under pretence of a truſt repoſed by the People. How far you are from committing any ſuch truſt, moſt of the perſons truſted by you, and your own expreſſions of duty to Me, hath manifeſted to all the World, and how far the whole Kingdome is from avowing ſuch a truſt, hath already in a great meaſure, and I doubt not will more every day appear, by the profeſſions of every County: for I am wholly caſt upon the affections of my people, and have no hope but in the bleſſing and aſsiſtance of God,

God, the justnesse of My cause, and the love of my Subjects, to recover what is taken from me and them, for I may justly say, they are equall losers with Me.

Gentlemen, I desire you to consider what course is to be taken for your own security from the excursions from *Hull*, and the violence which threatens you from thence: I will assist you any way you propose. Next I desire you, out of the publick provision, or your private store, to furnish me with such a number of Arms (Musquets and Corslets) as you may conveniently spare, which I doe promise to see fully repaid to you: These Arms I desire may be speedily delivered to the custody of my Lord Major of *York*, for my use principally for those parts which by reason of their distance from *Hull* are least subject to the fear of violence from thence.

And whosoever shall so furnish me, shall be excused from their attendance and service at musters, till their Arms shall be restored; which may well be sooner than I can promise, or you expect. I desire nothing of you but what is necessary to be done for the preservation of Gods true Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the very being of this Kingdome of *England*; for 'tis too evident all these are at stake.

For the compleating my Sons Regiment for the guard of his person under the command of my L. of *Cumberland*, I refer it wholly to your selves, who have expressed such forwardnesse in it.

His

His Majesties *Speech and Protestation in the Head of His Army, between* Stafford *and* Wellington, *after the reading of His Orders*, Septemb. 19. 1642.

Gentlemen,

YOu have heard these Orders read; It is your part in your severall places to observe them exactly: The time cannot be long before We come to Action; therefore you have the more reason to be carefull: And I must tell you I shall be very severe in the punishing of those, of what condition soever, who transgresse these instructions. I cannot suspect your Courage and Resolution; your Conscience and your Loyalty hath brought you hither to fight for your Religion, your King, and the Laws of the Land; you shall meet with no Enemies, but Traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Athiests, such who desire to destroy both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to ruin for being Loyall to Vs. That you may see what use I mean to make of your valour, if it please God to blesse it with successe. I have thought fit to publish my Resolution to you in a Protestation, which when you have heard Me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrell, in which I promise to live and dye with you.

His Majesties *Protestation.*

I Doe promise in the presence of Almighty GOD, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will to the utmost of my power defend and maintain *The true*

true Reformed Protestant Religion, established in the Church of England; and by the Grace of God in the same will live and dye.

I desire to govern by the *known Laws of the Land*, and that *the Liberty and property of the Subject* may be by them preserved, with the same care as my own just Rights. And if it please God by his blessing upon this Army raised for my necessary Defence, to preserve me from this Rebellion: I doe solemnly and faithfully promise in the sight of God to maintain *the just privileges and freedoms of Parliament*, and to govern by *the known Laws of the Land* to my utmost power, and particularly to observe inviolably *the Laws consented to by Me this Parliament*. In the mean while, if this time of War, and the great necessity and straits I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I hope it shall be imputed by God and Man to the Authors of this War, and not to Me, who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of the *peace of this Kingdome*.

When I willingly fail in these particulars I will expect no aid or relief from any Man, or protection from Heaven, But in this resolution I hope for the cheerfull assistance of all good men, and am confident of GODS blessing.

His Majesties *Speech to the Inhabitants of Denbigh and* Flint *at* Wrexham, Septemb. 27. 1642.

Gentlemen,

I Am willing to take all occasions to visit all my good Subjects, in which number I have cause to reckon you of these two Counties and having lately had a good expression of your loyalty and affections to me by the

Levies

Levies which at your charge have been sent me from your parts (which forwardnesse of yours, I shall alwayes remember to your advantage) and to let you know how I have been dealt with by a powerfull Malignant party in this Kingdome, whose designes are no lesse then to destroy my Person and Crown, the Laws of the Land, and the present Government both of Church and State. The leaders of these men by their subtilty and cunning practises have so prevailed upon the meaner sort of people about *London*, that they have called them up into frequent and dangerous Tumults, and thereby have chased from hence my Self and the greatest part of the Members of both Houses of Parliament; their power and secret plots have had such influence upon the small remaining part of both Houses, that under colour of Orders and Ordinances made without the Royall assent (a thing never heard of before this Parliament) I am rob'd and spoiled of my Towns, Forts, Castles, and Goods, my Navy forcibly taken from Me, and imployed against me, all my Revenue is stopt and seized upon, and at this time a powerfull Army is marching against me. I wish this were all; They have yet further laboured to alienate the affections of my good people, they have most injuriously vented many false reproaches against my person and Government, they have dispersed in print many notorious false scandalls upon my actions and intentions, and in particular have laboured to cast upon me some aspersions concerning the horrid, bloody, and impious Rebellion in *Ireland*. They tell the people that I have recalled two ships appointed for the guard of these Seas, 'tis true: but they conceal, that at the same time I sent my Warrant to the *Downs*, commanding four as good ships to attend that service instead of those should be called; which Warrant by

their

their means could not finde obedience. They forget that that they then imployed fourty ships (many of them my own, and all of them set forth at the publick charge of this and that Kingdome) to rob and pillage me of my goods, to chase my good Subjects, and maintain my own Town of *Hull* against me. And that by the absence of those ships from the *Irish* Seas, the Rebels have had opportunity to bring store of Arms, Ammunition and supplyes to their succours (to which we may justly impute the calamities, which have overwhelmed my poor Protestant Subjects there.) They cry out upon a few suits of clothes appointed (as they say) for *Ireland* which some of my forces took, but conceal that they were taken as entring into *Coventry* (then in open rebellion against me) where I had reason to believe they would have been disposed of amongst their souldiers who then bore arms against me: they talk of a few horses which I have made use of for my carriages (concealing that they were certified to be useless for the service of *Ireland*) when they themselves have seized 100000 pounds particularly appointed by Act of Parliament for the relief of *Ireland* (where my Army is ready to perish for want of it) and imployed it (together with such part of the 400000 l. subsidy as they have received) to maintain an unnaturall Civill War at home. Neither have they used their fellow Subjects better than they have done me their King. By their power the Law of the Land (your birth-right) is trampled upon, and instead thereof they govern My people by Votes, and arbitrary Orders. Such as will not submit to their unjust unlimitted power are imprisoned, plundred, and destroyed: such as will not pay such exactions as they require towards this rebellion, are threatned to be put out of protection (as they call it) of the Parliament; such as conscientiously remember their duty

duty and loyalty to me their Soveraign, are reviled, persecuted, and declared Traytors: such as doe desire to maintain the true Protestant Religion, as it is established by the Laws of the Land, are traduced and called Popish, and superstitious: And on the contrary, such as are known Brownists, Anabaptists, and publick depravers of the Book of Common Prayer, are countenanced and encouraged. They exact and receive Tonnage and Poundage, and other great duties upon Merchandizes, not only without Law, but in the face of an Act of Parliament to the contrary, past this present Parliament, which puts all men into the condition of a *Praemunire* that shall presume so to oppresse the people. If you desire to know who are the contrivers of these wicked designes, you shall finde some of their names in particular, and their actions at large in my Declaration of the 12 of *August* (to which I shall refer you) I wish their craft and power were not such, that few of those copies can come to the view of my good people, since that time these men so thirst after the destruction of this Kingdome, that they have prevailed to make all my offers of Treaty which might bring peace to this Kingdome, and beget a good understanding between me and my Parliament) fruitlesse. In this distresse into which these men have brought me, and this Kingdome, my confidence is in the protection of Almighty God, and the affections of my good people, and that you may clearly see what my resolutions are, I shall cause my voluntary Protestation lately taken to be read to you. And I desire that the Sheriffs of these two Counties will dispose copies of that and what I now deliver unto you, having no other way to make it publick; these men having restrained the use of my presses at London, and the Universities.

His

His Majesties *Speech to the Gentlemen, Free-holders, and other Inhabitants of the County of* Salop, *at* Shrewsbury, Sept. 28. 1642.

Gentlemen,

IT is some benefit to Me, from the insolencies and misfortunes which have driven me about, that they have brought me to so good a part of my Kingdom, and to so faithful a people; I hope neither you nor I shall repent my comming hither, I will doe my part that you may not, and of you I was confident before I came. The residence of an Army is not usually pleasant to any place; and mine may carry more fear with it, since it may be thought (being robbed and spoyled of all my own, and such terror used to fright and hinder all men from supplying me) I must only live upon the aid and relief of my people: but be not afraid; I would to God my poor Subjects suffered no more by the Insolence and Violence of that Army raised against me (though they have made themselves wanton even with plenty) than you shall doe by mine; and yet I fear I cannot prevent all disorders: I will doe my best, and this I'le promise you, none shall be a loser by me, if I can help it.

I have sent hither for a Mint; I will melt down all my own Plate, and expose all my Land to Sale or Morgage, that, if it be possible, I may not bring the least pressure upon you. In the mean time, I have summoned you hither, to invite you to doe that for me and yourselves for the maintenance of your Religion and the Law of the Land (by which you enjoy all that you have) which other men doe against Us. Doe not suffer so good a cause to be lost for want of supplying me with that which will be taken from you, by those who pursue me with this violence. And while

these ill men sacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmost industry to destroy the Commonwealth, be you no lesse liberall to preserve it: Assure your selves, if it please God to blesse me with successe, I shall remember the Assistance every particular man here gives me, to his advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiously soever the minds of men are now possessed) be honour and comfort to you, That with some charge, and trouble to your selves, you did your part to support your King, and preserve the Kingdom.

I desire Master Sheriff, and the rest of the Gentlemen, to distribute themselves in that method, that they may best receive the expressions which you shall make of your affections, the which I will have particularly represented to Me.

His Majesties *Speech to the Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of* Oxon, *at* Oxford, November, 2. 1642.

Gentlemen,

THough you see my Army marching from hence I doe not intend to leave you, my residence shall be so neer, that my power shall have an influence upon this place (of which I will besides take a particular care) for your protection: Therfore fear not to express your affections to Me with that courage which becomes you: I know how, and by whom this Countrey hath been awed, but I hope no man shall have more power to fright you from your Loyalty, than I have to restore you to it; and I shall guesse by the evidence of this day at your naturall dispositions. In assisting Me, you defend your selves; for believe it, the sword which is now drawn against Me, will destroy you, if I defend you not. I have and will venture

ture my life for you, 'twill be a shame for you to venture nothing. Whatsoever you shall be willing freely to contribute I will take kindly of you; and whatsoever you shall lend Me, I will in the word of a King, see justly repayed to you.

I appoint the Sheriff to receive such money or Plate as you (Gentlemen) shall be willing to assist Me with, and to return their names to Me: and you of the Clergy shall repair to Mr Vice-Chancellor, who shall doe the like: And I expect that you should advance this Service throughout the Country and return your Collections suddenly to Me, by the hand of the Sheriff. And I assure you I shall take especial notice of such who shall be backward in this time of so visible necessity.

His Majesties *Speech to the Members of both Houses of Parliament assembled at* Oxford January 22. 1643.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WHen I consider your publique Interest and Concernments in the happiness and honour of this Nation, and your particular sufferings in this Rebellion, for your affection and Loyalty to me; I must look upon you as the most competent Considerers and Counsellors how to manage and improve the Condition We are all in; for sure our condition is so equall that the same violence hath oppressed Vs all.

I have therefore called you together to be witnesses of My Actions, and privy to my intentions; and certainly if I had the least thought disagreeing with the happinesse and security of this Kingdome, I would not advise with such Counsellors: And I doubt not but your concurrence with Me will so farre prevail over

over the hearts and understandings of this whole Kingdom, (who must look upon you as persons naturally and originally trusted by and for them) that it will be above the reach and malice of those who have hitherto had too great an influence upon the People, to discredit my most entire Actions, and sincere Promises; you will be the best witnesses for the one, and security for the other.

Very many of you can bear Me witness with what unwillingnesse I suffered My Self first to take up these defensive Arms; indeed with so great, that I was first almost in the power of those, who in two set Battels have sufficiently informed the World how tender they have been of the safety of my Person. I foresaw not only the rage and oppression which would every day break out upon My Subjects, as the malice of these ill men increased, and their purposes were detected; but also the great inconveniences My best Subjects would suffer even by mine own Army, raised and kept for their preservation and protection; for I was not so ill a Souldier, as not to foresee how impossible it was to keep a strict discipline, I being to struggle with so many defects and necessities: and I assure you, the sense I have of their sufferings, who deserve well of Me, by My Forces, hath been a greater grief to Me than any thing for My own particular. My hope was, that either by successe on My part, or repentance on theirs, God would have put a short end to this great storm. But guilt and despair have made these men more wicked than I imagine they at first intended to be: for in stead of removing and reconciling these bloody distractions, and restoring peace to this languishing Countrey, they have invited a Forreign power to invade this Kingdome, and that in your names and challenge this invasion from them as a debt to the Common-wealth. You (My Lords) have, like your selves (as good *Patriots*) expressed

your

your dissent and vindicated your selves fr
that imputation: And I doubt not but y
(Gentlemen) will let your Countries know h
farre you are from desiring such assistance a
how absolute and peremptory a breach this n
sing of Arms of my *Scots* Subjects is of that p
cification, which was so lately and solem
made by you, and can intend nothing bu
conquest of you and your Laws, I shall le
you all the advertisements I have of that bu
nesse which is threatened from *Scotland*, a
what is already acted from thence; and sh
desire your speedy advice and assistance wh
is to be said or done, both with reference t
this and that Kingdome.

Our ends being the same I am sure the
will be no other difference in the way, th
what upon debate and right understanding w
be easily adjusted. Let our Religion (in wh
We are all most neerly concerned, and with
care of which We must not look for Gods ble
sing) be vindicated and preserved; Let My Ho
nour and Rights (which you finde to have an i
separable relation with your own interests) b
vindicated and restored; Let your Liberti
Properties, Priviledges, (without which
would not be your King) be secured and con
med; and there is nothing you can advise M
to. I will not meet you in; and I doubt n
We shall together inform posterity, how muc
our trust and confidence in each other, is a be
ter expedient for the peace and preservation o
the Kingdome, than Fears and Jealousies.

I shall keep you no longer from consulting
together, than in telling you, that I have prepa
red fit places for your meetings, to which I de
sire you to repair this night; assuring you, th
I will be alwayes ready to receive any thi
from you, admitting you to Me, or com
to you my Self, whensoever you shall desir
And so God direct you the best way.

His Majesties Speech and Protestation, before His receiving the holy Eucharist, at Christ-Church in Oxford. 1643.

His Majesty being to receive the Sacrament from the hands of the Lord Arch-bishop of Armah, used these publick expressions, immediately before His receiving the blessed Elements; He rose up from His knees, and beckning to the Arch-bishop for a short forbearance, made this Protestation.

MY Lord, I espie here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the World the resolution I doe now make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared my soule to become a Worthy Receiver: And may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I doe intend the establishment of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its beauty, in the happy dayes of Queene *Elizabeth*, without any connivence at Popery. I blesse God, that in the midst of these publick distractions, I have still liberty to Communicate; And may this Sacrament be My Damnation, if My Heart do not joyne with My Lips in this Protestation.

His Majesties Speech to the Members of both Houses at Oxford. Feb. 7. 1643.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Have hardly thus long forborn to give you thanks for the care and pains you have taken for the publick safety since your comming together. And first, I thank you for your inclination to peace; to which as my willingness of complying shewed the constancy of my endeavours in the best way for the publick good

good, so the Rebels by their scornfully rejecting your Overtures (as they have done before mine) have shewed their constancy in their way.

Next, I must thank every one of you for cheerfull applying your selves to the maintenance and recruiting of my Army, which I hope God will so bleſſe, that thereby the Enemies of peace ſhall have their due reward. And truly (my Lords and Gentlemen) this alacrity of yours for providing for my Army doth pleaſe me in no conſideration ſo much as that it is the beſt way for peace, for certainly this ſtrange arrogancy of refuſing to treat with you, can proceed from nothing but their contempt of Our Forces. But it is your preſent Honour, and will be more to poſterity, that God hath made you inſtruments to ſend your Soveraign, and to preſerve your Countrey; ſo ſee that Religion and Law flouriſh which you have reſcued from the violence of Rebellion; for which I hope in time to recompence every one of you: but if I ſhall not, here is one I hope will, in which he ſhall but perform my commands. For I have no greater gladneſs for thoſe who are my ill Subjects, than I have joy and comfort in your affections and fidelities.

And ſo God proſper your proceedings.

His Majeſties *Speech to the Lords and Commons aſſembled at* Oxford, *at their receſſe*, April 26. 1644.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am now brought to you by your ſelves, for I ſhould not ſoon have parted with you, if you had not deſired it: and I believe that the ſame zeal and affection to Me and your Country, which hath brought and ſtaid you here

hath caused you to seek this Recesse, that so by distributing your selves into your severall Countreys, We may all the better reap the fruits of our consultations; wherefore in Gods name dispose of your selves as you think fit. I heartily thank you for what you have done, and fully approve of what you desire.

I think most (if not all) of you are engaged in my service, either in a Civil, or a Martiall way: To you that have charge in my Armies, I recommend the diligent attendance on your commands, that so by your good example and discipline, you may suppresse license and disorder, which will discredit, and may destroy the best cause

And to you who are engaged in the Civil affairs, I must recommend these few particulars; That you expedite those supplies of moneys, which by your advice I have sent for, whether by Subscription, or Excise, remembring that moneys are the Nerves of War

Likewise that you use your best diligence for the prosing of men, and encouragement of Volunteirs, by shewing them, that now the only way to preserve themselves from slavery, and their Countrey from ruine, is freely to engage their persons.

But chiefly, and with all possible care to inform all my Subjects of the barbarity and lowdness of this Rebellion, how solicitous we have been for peace, and how insolently and wilfully rejected, assuring them that my Armies are raised, and kept only for the defence of their Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, which being once secured and vindicated, I shall most willingly lay them down, I having (God knows) with much unwillingness taken them

Lastly, assure them that these extraordinary wayes which necessity hath produced (and all of them not without your consent or ad-

vice) for My supply shall not hereafter b
brought in example to their prejudice, an
shall in the mean time doe My best to pr
vent, and punish all exorbitances and dis
ders.

To conclude (my Lords and Gentlemen)
doe now again (yet never enough) thank y
for your great & unanimous expresions of y
affections to Me, which hath laid an unexp
sable Obligation upon Me, and be ass
that there is no profession which I have m
for the defence and maintenance of our Re
on, Laws, and Liberties, which I will not
violably observe.

Now God who hath blessed this meet
with an unexpected unanimity,, which I
steem as one not of his least blessings (
I hope bring us all safe together again
eighth day of *October* next, in the mean t
I shall be ready to receive any thing from
Committees that shall be desired.

His Majesties *Speech at the delivery of the*
for a personal Treaty at Carisbrook C
August 7. 1648.

By an eye and ear-witnesse, who not trus
his memory made use of his Pen. And
truth of this Relation, the Relator
to the Commissioners themselves, or t
there presens, who had the happiness
to hear the most pious, most Christian ex
sions, of a most Religious King.

ON Munday, *Aug.* 7. 1648. The C
missioners having admittance in
KINGS presence, the Votes were fir
and then presented to the KING by the
of *Middlesex*, who desired His MAJES
speedy Answer; telling Him, that their
time was limited to *ten dayes*: The KIN

skt, *Whether the ten dayes were not to be coun-*
ed from that of the delivery of the Message? My
Lord of *Middlesex* answered, *No, Sir, they are to*
e counted from the day of our setting forth. The
KING replyed, *I have not then five dayes allow-*
d Me to consider of My answer, which I presume
ou expect in writing. & I have none to help Me; no
ot so much as a Clerk to transcribe; however I will
ally contribute My best endeavours to a happy
eace —— After a short pause the KING said, *I*
ould have sent to the Parliament, but I desire them
take notice, that my long silence proceeded not
om a dull stupid lazinesse, or My being insensi-
e of My own or the Kingdoms condition, but
om the Incapacity *that lay on Me by reason*
former Votes: but now a way is open'd to a Trea-
, which I ever apprehended as the only means to
durable Peace: I shall cheerfully embrace it,
d none shall more speedily runne to it, than My
lf: And for My part, as being more concerned
an any one in this Kingdome, nay should I say,
re than all, I speak it without vanity, I hope
will be thought no Hyperbolicall expression, for
m assured, whosoever gains, I shall be a lo-
. —— His MAJESTY then read the
otes to Himself, and having read them, said,
like them well, My desires being includedin
se Votes: For what can I desire more, than to
at with Honour, Freedome *and* Safety, *upon*
Propositions, and such other things as either
the two Houses shall offer? —— His
AJESTY then askt, *Whether the Com-*
ssioners to Treat were yet nominated? My
d of *Middlesex* answered, *No, Sir.* Then
KING said, *In a Treaty two sorts of things*
considerables some Necessary, *others* Conve-
t: —— Then the KING said to them,
go and apply My Self to My Answer, that
not delay a minute to promote so good a
; And then withdrew, and for that time
ed the Commissioners.

Thursday, Aug. 10. the Commissioners

waited on His MAJESTY to receive His
swer; and upon their entrance into the
sence the KING said, *He was sorry He w*
mitted so short a time, and had so little he
dispatch, yet notwithstanding He had prepare
Answer: And immediately before ther
ing thereof used these words *That the last*
sage He sent to the Houses, was delivered
Commissioners sealed: And had it been s
sented, it would have been better for Him
now He thought it fit to send this open, beca
could not be in a worse Condition; *being*
so close a Restraint, *none being suffered t*
a word to Him, without suspicion. — —
then produced His Answer, and read it
in the Presence Chamber, being full of C
pany: And after He had read it His MAJ
said, *That He hoped He had therein endeav*
to give Satisfaction to His Parliament:
being nothing in it but what He conceiv'd
plied in their Votes. And further added,
there might be some that would oppose this
ty, as being gainers by these Wars, and th
desired the continuance of it. Others migh
Him revengefull, but He said He was s
from seeking revenge, that if a straw la
way to hurt them, He would stoop and take
prevent it: And said, *God forgive them,*
doe. Then the Commissioners comm
take their leaves of Him, He called t
Him, and asked them, *How they liked Hi*
swer? They told Him, *They thought an*
it would produce a sudden and happy well
ed Peace.

His Majesties Speech to the Commissioners at the close of the Treaty at Newport. November 4. 1648.

At the close of the Treaty the King made a short Speech to this purpose.

THat His Majesty hoped the Commissioners were now sensible, that none was more desirous of a good and lasting Peace than himself; That He had gone very farre to give the two Houses satisfaction; That He thought, though the time for the Treaty was ended, yet the Treaty it self was not; That He expected to hear from His two Houses about His own propositions, and would be ready to make His concessions binding, by giving them the force of Laws: He desired that the Commissioners would put a good interpretation upon His vehement expressions in some of His Debates, there being nothing in his intentions but kindnesse; and that as they had taken abundance of freedome, and shewed great abilities in their debates, which have taken His Majesty off from some of His own opinions, so His Majesty doubted not (had they had power to recede) some of His Reasons would have prevailed with them, as He is confident had it been with the two Houses, it would have done with them, and therefore beseeches them to take the same freedome with His two Houses, to addresse them to a complyance with Him in those things His Conscience is not yet satisfyed in, which more time may doe; His opinion not being like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, unalterable, or infallible; adding His Majesties very hearty thanks for the pains they have taken to satisfie him, professing, that he wanted Eloquence to commend their abilities, desired them candidly to represent all the transactions of this Treaty to His two Houses, that they might see

nothing of his interest, how neer or dear ever (but that wherein his conscience is satisfied) can hinder on his part a happy elusion of this Treaty. And then he and Commissioners took leave; and at night supper they came and kissed his hand, and ceived a great deal of respect from his Maj

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His Majesties *Farewell Speech unto the Lo Commissioners at* Newport *in the Isle* Wight, Novemb. 1648.

My Lords,

YOu are come to take your leave of and I believe we shall scarce ever each other again: But Gods will be done thank God, I have made my peace with and shall without fear undergo what he be pleased to suffer Men to doe unto Me.

My Lords you cannot but know, that My fall and ruin, you see your own, and also neer to you; I pray God send you better friends than I have found

I am fully informed of the whole carriage of the plot against Me and mine; and nothing so much afflicts Me, as the sense and feeling I have of the sufferings of My Subjects and the miseries that hang over My three Kingdomes, drawn upon them by those, who upon pretences of good) violently pursue their own interests and ends.

These words His Majesty delivered with much alacrity, and cheerfullnesse, with a serene countenance, and carriage free from all disturbance.

Thus He parted with the Lords, leaving many tender impressions, (if not in them, yet in the other beavers.

For

Fourty ſeverall

MESSAGES

for PEACE,

ent by his *Majeſty* to the two Houſes of Parliament, before and ſince the breaking out of this War (whereof only 21 were formerly printed together, and the reſt which were then omitted, are now added.)

y all which may evidently appear, His *Majeſties* conſtant and earneſt endeavours afrer peace, both before and after His impriſonment: And His many and gracious Conceſſions offered for the obtaining of the ſame.

With two Declarations written by His Majeſty, the one, at *Cariſbrook Caſtle Jan.* 14. 1647. after the Votes of *No addreſſe*. The other, at *Newport, Novem.* 22. 1648. when His Majeſty was violently ſeized upon by the Army, after the Treaty was ended.

I

His Majesties Message of the twentieth of January 1641. for composing of all differences.

HIs Majesty, perceiving the manifold distractions which are now in this Kingdome, which cannot but bring great inconvenience, and mischief to this whole Government; In which, as His Majesty is most chiefly interessed, so He holds himself by many Reasons, most obliged to doe what in him lies, for the preventing thereof; though He might justly expect (as most proper for the duty of Subjects) that Propositions for the remedies of these Evils, ought rather to come to Him than from Him; yet his fatherly care of all His people being such, that He will rather lay by any particular respect of his own dignity, than that any time should be lost for prevention of these threatning Evils, which cannot admit the delayes of the ordinary proceedings in Parliament; doth think fit to make this ensuing Proposition to both Houses of Parliament: That they will with all speed fall into a serious consideration of all those particulars, which they shall hold necessary, as well for the upholding and maintaining of His Majesties just and regall authority, and for the settling of His Revenue, as for the present and future establishment of their privileges, The free and quiet enjoying of their estates and fortunes; The liberties of their persons; The security of the true Religion now professed in the Church of *England*; and the settling of Ceremonies in such a manner as may take away all just offence. Which when they shall have digested and composed into one entire body, that so His Majesty and themselves may be able to make the more clear judgement of them, it shall

then

then appear by what His Majeſty ſhall doe, how far he hath been from intending or deſigning any of thoſe things, which the too great Fears and Jealouſies of ſome perſons ſeem to apprehend: And how ready he will be to equall and exceed the greateſt Examples of the moſt indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to their people. So that if all the preſent diſtractions (which ſo apparently threaten the ruin of this Kingdome) doe not (by the bleſſing of Almighty God) end in an happy and bleſſed accommodation; his Majeſty will then be ready to call Heaven and Earth, God and Man to witneſſe, that it hath not failed on His part.

2.

His Majeſties *Meſſage of the* 15 *of* March 1641. *from* Huntingdon, *upon His removall to* York, *in purſuance of the former.*

HIs Majeſty being now in His remove to his City of *York*, where He intends to make His Reſidence for ſome time, thinks fit to ſend this Meſſage to both Houſes of Parliament.

That He doth very earneſtly deſire, that they will uſe all poſſible induſtry in expediting the buſineſſe of *Ireland*, in which they ſhall finde ſo cheerfull a concurrence by His Majeſty, that no inconvenience ſhall happen to that ſervice by His abſence, He having all that Paſſion for the reducing of that Kingdome, which He hath expreſſed in His former Meſſages, and being unable by words to manifeſt more affection to it, than He hath endeavoured to doe by thoſe Meſſages (having likewiſe done all ſuch Acts as He hath been moved unto by His Parliament) Therefore if the miſfortunes and calamities of His poor

Protestant Subjects there shall grow upon them (though His Majesty shall be deeply concerned in, and sensible of their sufferings) He shall wash His hands before all the World, from the least imputation of slacknesse in that most necessary and pious work.

And that His Majesty may leave no way unattempted, which may beget a good understanding between Him and His Parliament; He thinks it necessary to declare, That as He hath been so tender of the priviledges of Parliament, that He hath been ready and forward to retract any Act of His own, which He hath been informed hath trenched upon their priviledges, so He expects an equall tendernesse in them of His Majesties known and unquestionable priviledges (which are the priviledges of the Kingdome) amongst which He is assured it is a fundamentall one, That His Subjects cannot be obliged to obey an Act, Order, or Injunction to which His Majesty hath not given his consent: And therefore He thinks it necessary to publish, That He expects and hereby requires Obedience from all His loving Subjects, to the Laws established, and that they presume not upon any pretenced Order, or Ordinance (to which His Majesty is no party) concerning the *Militia*, or any other thing to doe or execute what is not warranted by those Laws, His Majesty being resolved to keep the Laws himself and to require obedience to them from all his Subjects.

And his Majesty once more recommends to His Parliament the substance of His Message of the twentieth of *January* last, that they compose and digest, with all speed such Acts, as they shall think fit, for the present and future establishment of their priviledges, the free and quiet enjoying their Estates and Fortunes; the liberties of their persons; the security of the true Religion, and profes-

profeſſed in the Church of *England*; The maintaining his Majeſties regall and juſt Authority, and ſettling his Revenue: his Majeſty being moſt deſirous to take all fitting and juſt wayes which may beget a happy underſtanding between Him and His Parliament, in which He conceivs His greateſt power and riches doe conſiſt.

3.

His Majeſties *Meſſage from* Nottingham, *when He ſet up His Standard, Auguſt* 25 1642.

By the Earls of Southampton *and* Dorſet, *Sir* John Culpeper, *Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir* W. Vvedal, *Knight.*

WE have with unſpeakable grief of heart long beheld the diſtractions of this Our Kingdome; Our very ſoul is full of anguiſh untill We may finde ſome remedy to prevent the miſeries which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a civil War: And though all our endeavours tending to the compoſing of thoſe unhappy differences betwixt Vs and Our two Houſes of Parliament (though purſued by Vs with all zeal and ſincerity) have been hitherto without that ſucceſſe We hoped for; Yet ſuch is Our conſtant and earneſt care to preſerve the publick peace, that We ſhall not be diſcouraged from uſing any Expedient, which by the bleſſing of the God of mercy may lay a firm foundation of peace and happineſs to all Our good Subjects: To this end obſerving that many miſtakes have ariſen by the Meſſages, Petitions, and Anſwers betwixt Vs and Our two Houſes of Parliament, which happily may be prevented by ſome other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be more clearly underſtood

derstood, and more freely transacted; We have thought fit to propound to you, That some fit persons may be by you enabled to treat with the like number to be authorized by Vs, in such a manner, and with such freedome of debate, as may best tend to that happy conclusion, which all good men desire *The peace of the Kingdome*: Wherein as We promise, in the word of a King, all safety and encouragement to such as shall be sent unto Vs if you shall choose the place where We are for the Treaty, which We will wholy leave to you, presuming on the like care of the safety of those We shall imploy, if you shall name another place; So we assure you and all Our good Subjects, That (to the best of Our understanding) nothing shall be therein wanting on Our part, which may advance the true Protestant Religion, oppose Popery and Superstition, secure the Law of the Land (upon which is built as well Our just Prerogative, as the propriety and liberty of the Subject) confirm all just power and priviledges of Parliament, and render Vs and Our people truly happy by a good understanding betwixt Vs and Our two Houses of Parliament. Bring with you as firm resolutions to doe your Duty, and let all Our people joyn with Vs in Our prayers to Almighty God for his blessing upon this Work.

If this proposition shall be rejected by you, We have done Our duty so amply, that God will absolve Vs from the guilt of any of that blood which must be spilt. And what opinion soever other men may have of Our power, We assure you nothing but Our Christian and pious care to prevent the effusion of blood hath begot this motion, Our provision of Men, Arms, and Money being such as may secure Vs from further violence, till it please God to open the eyes of Our people.

4.

His Majesties *Message of* Sept. 5. 1642. *in pursuance of the former.*

WE will not repeat what means We have used to prevent the dangerous and distracted estate of the Kingdome, nor how these means have been interpreted, because being desirous to avoid effusion of blood, We are willing to decline all memory of former bitterness that might make Our offer of a Treaty less readily accepted.

We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare both Our Houses of Parliament Traytors, or set up Our Standard against them, and much lesse to put them and this Kingdome out of Our protection; We utterly professe against it before God and the World. And further to remove all possible scruples which may hinder the Treaty so much desired by Vs; We hereby promise, so that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations against all persons, as Traytors, or other wayes, for assisting Vs, We shall with all cheerfulness upon the same day recall Our Proclamations and Declarations, and take down Our Standard: In which Treaty We shall be ready to grant any thing that shall be really for the good of Our Subjects; Conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous condition of *England*, in as high a degree as by these Our offers, We have declared Our Self to doe: And assuring you that Our chief desire in this World is to beget a good understanding and mutuall confidence betwixt Vs and Our two Houses of Parliament.

His

5.

His Majesties *Message and Reply to the Answer of both Houses, to His former Message,* September 11. 1642.

WHo have taken most wayes, used most endeavours, and made most teall expressions to prevent the present Distractions and Dangers, let all the World judge, as well by former passages, as Our two last Messages, which have been so fruitless, That (though We have descended to desire and presse it) not so much as a Treaty can be obtained, unless We would denude our Self of all force to defend Vs from a visible strength marching against Vs, and admit those persons accounted as Traytors to Vs, who according to their Duty, their Oaths of Allegiance, and the Law, have appeared in defence of Vs their King and Liege Lord (whom We are bound in conscience and honour to preserve) though We disclaimed all Our Proclamations and Declarations, and the erecting of Our Standard, as against Our Parliament. All We have now left in Our power is, to express the deep sense We have of the publick misery of this Kingdome, in which is involved that of Our distressed Protestants of *Ireland*, and to apply our Self to Our necessary defence, wherein We wholly rely upon the providence of God, the justice of Our cause, and the affection of Our good people, so farre We are from putting them out of Our protection. When you shall desire a Treaty of Vs, We shall piously remember whose blood is to be spilt in this Quarrel, and cheerfully embrace it. And as no other reason induced Vs to leave Our City of *London* but that with honour and safety We could not stay there; nor to raise any force, but for the necessary defence of Our Person and the Law, against Levies in opposition

to

o both; ſo We ſhall ſuddenly and moſt illingly return to the one, and diſband the ther, as ſoon as thoſe cauſes ſhall be re-noved. The God of Heaven direct you, and n mercy divert thoſe judgements which hang ver this Nation, and ſo deal with Vs and Our poſterity, as We deſire the preſervation nd advancement of the true Proteſtant Re-igion, the Law and the Liberty of the Sub-ect, The juſt Rights of Parliament, and the eace of the Kingdome.

6.

His Majeſties Meſſage of Nov. 12. 1642. *from Brainford: After the defeat of the Parliaments forces at* Edge-Hill, *and at* Brainford.

WHereas the laſt night; being the eleventh of *November*, after the departure of the Committee of both Our Houſes, with Our gracious Anſwer to their Petition, We received certain information, (having till then heard nothing of it, either from the Houſes Committee or otherwiſe) that the Lord of *Eſſex* had drawn his forces out of *London* towards Vs, which hath neceſsitated Our ſudden reſolution to march with Our forces to *Brainford*; We have thought hereby fit to ſignifie to both Our Houſes of Parliament, That We are no leſſe deſirous of the peace of the Kingdome, than we expreſt in Our aforeſaid Anſwer; The propoſitions for which, We ſhall willingly receive where ever We are, and deſire (if it may be) to receive them at *Brainford* this night, or early to morrow morning; that all poſsible ſpeed may be made in ſo good a work, and all inconveniencies, otherwiſe likely to intervene, may be avoided.

And

And to justifie yet further, that Our intention was no other than was here profest, as soon as We were enformed that the Earl of *Essex* his Forces were departed from *Kingston*, before any appearance or notice of further forces from *London*. (Our end of not being inclosed being obtained) We gave orders to quit *Brainford* and to march away, and possess that place.

We cannot but make one Argument more of the truth of Our profession, that this was all Our end, and that We had not the least thought, by so advancing to surprize and sack *London*, (which the Malignant party would infuse into that Our City) and that is, That probably God Almighty would not have given such a blessing to Our journey, as to have assisted Vs so both by Land and Water, as with less than a third part of Our Foot, and with the losse but of ten men to beat two of their best Regiments out of both *Brainford*, for all the great advantage of their works in them, to kill him who commanded in chief, and to kill and drown many others, to take five hundred Prisoners, more Arms, eleven Colours, and good store of Ammunition, fifteen pieces of Ordinance, (whereof We sunk most that We brought not away) and then unfought with, and unoffered at, nearer than by Ordinance, to march away notwithstanding the great disadvantage of Our forces by the difficulties of the passages, if He, who is the Searcher of all hearts, and truth it self, had not known the truth of Our professions, and the innocency of Our heart, and how far We were from deserving those horrid accusations of falshood, and treachery cast so point blank upon Our own person, that it would amaze any man to see them suffered to be printed in Our City of *London*, if any thing of that kinde could be a wonder after so many of the same, and how really they desire accomodation, who

upon

upon this have voted they will have none.

These Our Reasons for this Action, This Our satisfaction sent for it, and this blessing of God upon it, will (We doubt not) clear Us to all indifferent persons, both of the Jesuitical Counsels, and the personall Treachery, to which some have presumed so impudently to impute it: And God so blesse Our future Actions, as We have delivered the truth of this.

7.

His Majesties *Message containing his Reply to the Answer of both Houses to his former Message*, Novemb. 18. 1642.

To the Answer of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesties *Message of the* 12. *of* November, *his* Majesty *makes this Reply.*

THat this Message of the twelfth, though not received by them till the fourteenth, was sent to them first upon the same day upon which it was dated, and meeting with stops by the way, was again sent upon the thirteenth, and taken upon that day at ten in the morning by the Earl of *Essex*, and though not to him directed, was by him opened, so the slowness of the Delivery is not so strange as the stop of the Letter said to be sent by Sir *Peter Killigrew*, which his Majesty hath not yet received, but concludes from the matter expressed to have been contained in that Letter (to wit, to know His pleasure, whether He intended the forbearance of Hostility) and by the command of such forbearance said to be sent to the Lord of *Essex* his Army, that no such forbearance was already concluded, and consequently neither had already his Majesty cause to suppose that He should take any of their Forces unprovided

and

and secure in expectation of a fair Treaty, neither could any Hostile Act of His Majesties Forces have been a course unsuitable to His professions, much lesse could an endeavour to prepossesse (for so He hoped He might have done) that place, which might have stopt the further march of those Forces towards Him (which he ought appeared to Him, might as well have been intended to *Colebrook* as to *Brainford*) and by that the further effusion of blood, deserve that stile.

His Majesty further conceives, That the printing so out of time of such a Declaration, as their reply to His answer to theirs of the 21 and twentieth of *May*, but the day before they voted the dellivery of their petition and the march of the Earl of *Essex* his forces to *Brainford* so near to His Majesty, when the Committee at the same time attended Him with a Petition for a Treaty, the Earl of *Essex* being before possest of all the other Avenues to his Army by His forces at *Windsore*, *Acton*, and *Kingstone*, was a more strange introduction to Peace, than for His Majesty not to suffer Himself to be coopt up on all sides, because a Treaty had been mentioned, which was so really and so much desired by His Majesty, that this proceeding seems to Him purposely to be by some intention to divert (which it could not doe) that His Inclination.

That His Majesty had no intention to master the City by so advancing, besides His profession, which (how meanly soever they seem to value it) He conceives a sufficient Argument (especially being only opposed by suspicions and surmises) may appear by His not pursuing His Victory at *Brainford*, but giving Orders to His Army to march away to *Kingstone*, as soone as He heard that place was quitted, before any notice or appearance of further Forces from *London*; Nor could He finde a better way to satisfie them before hand, that He had no such

intention,

intention but that His desire of Peace, and of propositions that might conduce to it, still continued, than by that Message of the twelfth, for which care of His He was requited by such a reception of His Message and Messenger, as was contrary at once both to Duty, Civility, and the very Customes and Law of War and Nations, and such as theirs (though after this provocation) hath not found from Him.

His Majesty wonders that His Souldiers should be charged with thirsting after blood, who took above five hundred Prisoners in the very heat of the fight, His Majesty having since dismissed all the Common Souldiers, and entertained such as were willing to serve Him, and required only from the rest an Oath not to serve against Him: And His Majesty supposes such most apt and likely to maintain their power by blood and rapine, who have only got it by Oppression and Injustice; That His is vested in Him by the Law, and by that only (if the destructive Counsells of others would not hinder such a peace, in which that might once again be the universal Rule, and in which Religion and Justice can only flourish) He desires to maintain it: And if Peace were equally desired by them as it is by His Majesty, He conceives it would have been proper to have sent him such a Paper as should have contained just Propositions of Peace, and not an unjust accusation of His Counsels, Proceedings, and Person. And His Majesty intends to march to such a distance from His City of *London*, as may take away all pretence of apprehension from His Army, that might hinder them in all security from yet preparing them to be sent to Him, and there will be ready either to receive them, or to end the pressures and miseries, which His Subjects to His great grief suffer through this Warre, by a present Battell.

His

8.

His Majesties *Message for a Treaty*, March 3 1643 *from* Oxford.

C. R.

OVt of Our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this Our Kingdome, and Our unwearied desire to apply all Remedies, which by the blessing of Almighty God, may recover it from an utter ruine: By the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, We doe propound and desire, that a convenient number of fit persons, may be appointed and authorized by you to meet with all convenient speed, at such place as you shall nominate, with an equall number of fit persons, whom We shall appoint and authorise to treat of the wayes and means to settle the present distractions of this Our Kingdome, and to procure a happy Peace. And particularly, How all the Members of both Houses may securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, there to treat, consult and agree upon such things, as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true reformed Protestant Religion with due consideration to all just and reasonable ease of tender Consciences, to the settling and maintaining of Our just Rights and priviledges, of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and all other expedients that may conduce to that blessed end of a firm and lasting peace, both in Church and State, and a perfect understanding betwixt Vs and Our people, wherein no endeavours or concurrence of Ours shall be wanting. And God direct your

your hearts in the wayes of Peace. *Given at Our Court at* Oxford, *the third day of* March, 1643.

Superscribed,

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.

9.

His Majesties *Message after the ending of the Treaty at* Oxford, *concerning the disbanding of all Forces and His return to the Parliament* April 12. 1643.

Oxford.

TO shew to the World how earnestly His Majesty longs for peace, and that no successe shall make Him desire the continuance of His Army to any other end or for any longer time than that, and untill things may be so settled, as that the Law may have a full, free and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the rights of His Majesty, both Houses and His good Subjects.

1. As soon as His Majesty is satisfied in His first Proposition concerning His own Revenue, Magazine, Ships, and Forts, in which He desires nothing but that the Just, Known, Legall rights of His Majesty (devolved to Him from His Progenitors) and of the persons trusted by Him; which hath been violently taken from both be restored unto Him, and unto them, unlesse any just and legall exceptions against any of the persons trusted by Him (which are yet unknown to His Majesty) can be made appear to Him.

2. As soon as all the Members of both Hou-

ses

ses shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting and Voting in Parliament, as they had upon the first of *January* 1641. the same of right belonging unto them by their birth-rights and the free election of those that sent them, & having been voted from them for adhering to his Majesty in these distractions. His Majesty not intending that this should extend either to the Bishops whose Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to such in whose places upon new Writs new Elections have been made.

3. As soon as His Majesty and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous Assemblies as to the great breach of the priviledges and the high dishonour of Parliaments, have formerly assembled about both Houses, and awed the Members of the same, & occasioned two severall complaints from the Lords House, and two several desires of that House to the House of Commons, to joyn in a Declaration against them; the complying with which desire might have prevented all these miserable distractions which have ensued: Which security His Majesty conceives can be only settled by adjourning the Parliament to some other place at least twenty miles from *London*, the choice of which His Majesty leavs to both Houses.

His Majesty will most chearfully and readily consent that both Armies be immediately disbanded and give a present meeting to both His Houses of Parliament at the time and place, and to which the Parliament shall be agreed to be adjourned.

His Majesty being most confident, that the Law will then recover the due credit and estimation, and that upon a free debate in a full and peaceable convention of Parliament, such provisions will be made against seditious preaching & printing against his Majesty, & the establisht Lawes which hath been one of the chief causes of the present distractions; and such care will be taken concerning the legall and known

Right

Rights of His Majesty, and the property and liberty of His Subjects, That whatsoever hath been published or done in or by colour of any illegal Declaration, Ordinance, or Order of one or both Houses, or any Committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raise Armes without his Majesties consent, will be in such manner recalled, disclaimed, and provided against, that no seed will remain for the like to spring out for the future, to disturb the Peace of the Kingdome, and to endanger the very being of it.

And in such a convention his Majesty is resolved by His readinesse to consent to whatsoever shall be proposed to Him by Bill for the real good of His Subjects, (and particularly for the better discovery and speedier conviction of Recusants,) for the education of the children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion, for the prevention of the practises of Papists against the State, and the due execution of the Laws, and true levying of the penalties against them, to make known to all the world how causeless those fears and jealousies have been, which have been raised against Him, and by that so distracted this miserable Kingdome. And if this offer of his Majesty be not consented to, (in which He asks nothing, for which there is not any apparent justice on His side, and in which He defers many things highly concerning both Himself and People, till a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, which in justice He might now require) His Majesty is confident that it will then appear to all the world, not only who is most desirous of Peace, and whose fault it is that both Armies are not now disbanded, but who have been the true and first cause that this Peace was ever interrupted, or these Armes raised; and the beginning or continuance of the War, and the destruction and desolation of this poor Kingdome (which is too

likely

likely to ensue) will not, by the most in
ressed, passionate, or prejudicate perso
imputed to his Majesty.

10.

His Majesties *Message of the* 19. *of* May, 16
in pursuance of the former.

Oxford.

SInce his Majesties Message of the twel
of *April*, (in which He conceived He
made such an Overture for the immediate
banding of all Armies, and composure of th
present miserable distractions, by a full
free convention in Parliament, that a per
and settled Peace would have ensued) h
in all this time (above a full moneth pro
red no Answer from both Houses, His Ma
sty might well believe Himself absolved
fore God and Man, from the least posi
charge of not having used His utmost end
vour for Peace: Yet when he considers th
the Scene of all this calamity is in the bo
of his own Kingdome, That all the blo
which is spilt is of His own Subjects, and t
what victory soever it shall please God to gi
Him, must be over those who ought not t
have lifted up their hands against Him; Wh
He considers that these desperate civil Disc
tions may encourage and invite a forraign
nemy to make a prey of the whole Nation
That *Ireland* is in present danger to be total
lost; That the heavy judgements of God
Plague, Pestilence, and Famine, will be th
inevitable attendants of this unnatural Co
tention; and that in a short time there will
so generall a habit of uncharitableness a
crueltie contracted throughout the Kingdo
that even peace it self will not restore H
peop

People, to their old temper and security: His Majesty cannot but again call for an Answer to that His Message; which gives so fair a rise, to end these unnaturall distractions. And His Majesty doth this with the more earnestnesse, because He doubts not the condition of His Armies in several parts, His strength of Horse, Foot, and Artillery, His plenty of Amunition, which some men lately might conceive He wanted, is so well known and understood, that it must be confessed that nothing but the tenderness and love to His People, and those Christian impressions which alwayes have, and He hopes alwayes shall dwell in his heart, could move Him once more to hazard a refusall. And He requires them as they will answer to God, to himself, and all the World, that they will no longer suffer their fellow subjects to welter in each others blood; That they will remember by whose authority, and to what end they met in that Counsel, and give such an Answer to His Majesty as may open a dore to let in a firm Peace and security to the whole Kingdome. If His Majesty shall thus be disappointed of His intentions hereby, the blood, rapine, and distraction, which must follow in *England* and *Ireland*, will be laid upon the account of those who are deaf to the motion of Peace and accommodation.

II.

His Majestie's Message from Evesham, after the defeat of Waller at Cropredy-bridge, June 4. 1644.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.

C. R.

WE being deeply sensible of the misseries and calamities of this Our Kingdome, and of the grievous sufferings of Our poor subjects, doe most earnestly desire that some expedient may be found out, which by the blessing of God may prevent the further effusion of blood, and restore the Nation to peace, from the earnest and constant endevouring of which, as no discouragement given Vs on the contrary part shall make Us cease, so no successe on Ours shall ever divert Vs. For the effecting whereof We are ready and willing to condescend to all that shall be for the good of Vs and Our people, whether by way of confirmation of what We have already granted, or of such further concession as shall be requisite to the giving a full assurance of the performance of all Our Royall professions, concerning the maintenance of the true reformed Protestant Religion established in this Kingdome, with due regard to the ease of tender consciences, the just priviledges of Parliament, and the liberty and property of the Subject, according to the Lawes of the Land; as also by granting a generall pardon without or with exceptions, as shall be thought fit. In order to which blessed peace, We doe desire and propound to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, That they appoint Commissioners and so many persons as they shall think sufficient

ſufficiently authorized by them to attend Vs at Our Army, upon ſafe conduct to come and return (which We doe hereby grant) and conclude with Vs, how the premiſſes and all other things in queſtion betwixt Vs and them, may be fully ſettled; whereby all unhappy miſtakings betwixt Vs and Our people being removed, there may be a preſent Ceſſation of Arms, and as ſoon as may be, a totall diſbanding of all Armies, the Subject have his due, and We be reſtored to Our Rights. Wherein if this Our offer ſhall be accepted there ſhall be nothing wanting on Our part, which may make Our people ſecure and happy. *Given at Our Court at* Eveſham *the fourth of* July 1644.

12.

His Majeſties *Meſſage from* Taveſtok *for Accommodation,* Septemb 8. 1644 *after the defeat of the Earl of* Eſſex *in* Cornwall.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter

C. R.

IT having pleaſed GOD in ſo eminent a manner lately to bleſſe Our Armies in theſe parts with ſucceſſe, We doe not ſo much joy in that bleſsing for any other conſideration, as for the hopes We have that it may be a means to make others lay to heart, as We doe, the miſeries brought and continued upon Our Kingdome by this unnaturall War, and that it may open your ears, and diſpoſe your mindes to embrace thoſe offers of peace and reconciliation which have been ſo often, and ſo earneſtly made unto you by Vs, and from the conſtant and

servent endeavours of which, we are resolved never to desist. In pursuance whereof, We doe upon this occasion conjure you to take into consideration Our (too long neglected) Message of the fourth of July from *Evesham*, which We again renue unto you. And that you will speedily send Us such an answer thereunto, as may shew unto Our poor Subjects, some light of a deliverance from their present calamities by a happy accommodation; toward which We doe here engage the word of a King, to make good all those things which We have therein promised, and really to endeavour a happy conclusion of this Treaty. And so God direct you in the wayes of peace. *Given at Our Court at Tavestock the* 8. *of* Septemb. 1644.

13.

His Majesties *Message for a safe conduct for certain persons of Honour, to be sent with Propositions of Peace*, Decemb. 5. 1645.

Oxford.

Charls R.

HIs Majesty being deeply sensible of the continuation of this, bloody and unnaturall War, cannot think himself discharg'd of the duty He owes to God, or the affection and regard he hath to the preservation of His people, without the constant application of His earnest endeavours to finde some expedient for the speedy ending of these unhappy distractions, if that may be, doth therefore desire, That a safe Conduct may be forthwith sent for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earle of *Southampton*, *Ashburnham*

Ashburnham, and *Jeferey Palmer* Iſquires, and their Attendants, with Coaches, Horſes, and other accommodations for their journey to *Weſtminſter*, during their ſtay there, and return when they ſhall think fit. Whom his Majeſty intends to ſend to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* furniſhed with ſuch Propoſitions, as his Majeſty is confident will be the foundation of a happy and well grounded Peace.

Given at Our Court at Oxford 5. Dec. 1645.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers pro tempore.

14.

His Majeſties Meſſage of December 15. 1643 *in purſuance of the former.*

Oxford.

Charles R.

HIs Majeſty cannot but extremely wonder, that after ſo many expreſsions on his part, of a deep and ſeeming ſenſe of the miſeries of this afflicted Kingdome, and of the dangers incident to His perſon, during the continuance of this unnatural War, your many great and ſo often repeated proteſtations for the raiſing of theſe Arms hath been only for the neceſſary defence of Gods true Religion, His Majeſties honour, ſafety, and prerogative, the peace, comfort, and ſecurity of his People, you ſhould delay a ſafe conduct for the perſons mentioned in His Majeſties Meſſage of the fifth of this inſtant *December*, which are to be ſent unto you with propoſitions for a well grounded Peace: A thing ſo

far from having been denyed at any time by His Majesty, whensoever you have desired the same, that He believes it hath been seldome (if ever) practised among the most avowed and professed Enemies, much less from Subjects to their King. But His Majesty is resolved, that no discouragements whatsoever shall make Him fail of His part, in doing His utmost endeavors to put an end to these calamities, which if not in time prevented, must prove the ruine of this unhappy Nation: And therefore doth once again desire, That a safe Conduct may be forthwith sent for those persons expressed in His former Message, and doth therefore conjure you, as you will answer it to Almighty God, in that day when He shall make inquisition for all the blood that hath and may yet be spilt in this unnaturall War, as you tender the preservation and establishment of the true Religion; by all the bonds of duty and Allegiance to your King, or compassion to your bleeding and unhappy Countrey; and of charity to your selves, that you dispose your hearts to a true sense, and imploy all your faculties in a more serious endeavour together with his Majesty, to set a speedy end to these wasting Divisions, and then He doth not doubt, but that God will yet again give the blessing of peace to this distracted Kingdome.

Given at the Court at Oxford *the* 15 *of* December 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore.

15.

His Majesties *Message for a personal Treaty, with Propositions for Peace*, Decemb. 15. 1645.

Oxford.

C. R.

NOtwithstanding the strange and unexpected delayes (which can be presidented by no former times) to his Majesties two former Messages, his Majesty will lay aside all expostulations, as rather serving to lose time, than to contribute any remedy to the evils, which for the present) doe afflict this distracted Kingdome; therefore without further preamble, his Majesty thinks it most necessary to send these propositions this way, which He intended to doe by the persons mentioned in His former Messages, though He well knows the great disadvantage, which Overtures of this kinde have, by the want of being accompanied by well instructed Messengers.

His Majesty conceiving that the former Treaties have hitherto proved ineffectuall, chiefly for want of power in those persons that treated, as likewise, because those from whom their power was derived not possibly having the particular informations of every severall debate) could not give so clear a judgement as was requisite in so important a business; If therefore his Majesty may have the engagement of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* the Mayor, Aldermen, Common-Councel, and Militia of *London*, of the chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army, as also those in the Scots Army, for his Majesties free and safe comming to, and abode in *London* or *Westminster*, (with such of His Servants now attending Him, and their

followers, not exceeding in all the number of three hundred) for the space of fourty days; and after the said time for His free and safe repair to any of His Garrisons of *Oxford*, *Worcester*, or *Newark*, (which his Majesty shall nominate at any time before His going from *London* or *Westminster*) his Majesty propounds to have a personal Treaty with the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* upon all matters which may conduce to the restoring of peace and happinesse to these miserable distracted Kingdomes: And to begin with the three Heads which were treated on at *Uxbridge*. And for the better clearing of his Majesties earnest and sincere intentions of putting an end to these unnatural distractions (knowing that point of security may prove the greatest obstacle to this most blessed work) his Majesty therefore declares, That He is willing to commit the great trust of the Militia of this Kingdome, for such time, and with such powers as are expresst in the paper delivered by his Majesties Commissioners at *Uxbridge*, the first of *February* last, to these persons following, *viz.* The Lord *Privy Seal*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquesse of *Hertford*, the Marquesse of *Dorchester*, the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Manchester*, Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Earl of *Chichester*, Lord *Say*, Lord *Seymour*, Lord *Lucas*, Lord *Lexington*, M. *Denzil Hollis*, M. *Pierpoint*, M. *Hen. Belasis*, M. *Richard Spencer*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, M. *John Ashburnham*, Sir *Gervas Clifton*, Sir *Henry Vane jun.* Mr. *Rob. Wallop*, M. *Thomas Chicheley*, M. *Oliver Cromwel*, Mr. *Phil. Skippon*, supposing that these are persons against whom there can be no just exception; but if this doth not satisfie, Then his Majesty

jesty offers to name the one half, and leave the other to the election of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, with the Powers and Limitations before mentioned.

Thus His Majesty cals God and the World to witnesse of His sincere intentions and reall endeavours, for the composing and settling of these miserable distractions, which He doubts not but by the blessing of God will soon be put to a happy conclusion, if this His Majesties offer be accepted; Otherwise He leaves all the World to judge who are the continuers of this unnaturall War. And therefore He once more conjures you, by all the bonds of duty you owe to God and your King, to have so great a compassion on the bleeding and miserable estate of your Countrey, That you joyn your most serious and hearty endeavors with His Majesty, to put a happy and speedy end to these present miseries. *Given at the Court at* Oxford, *the* 26. *of* Dec. 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster, *and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

16.

His Majesties *Message in pursuance of the fa[illegible] for a Personall Treaty at* Westminster, D[illegible]cemb. 29. 1645.

Oxford.

C. R.

ALthough the Message sent by Sir P[illegible] *Killegrew*, may justly require an expo[illegible]latory answer, yet His Majesty layes that a[illegible] as not so proper for His present endeavours leaving all the World to judge, whether [illegible] proposition for a personall Treaty, or the [illegible] denyall of the safe conduct for persons to be[illegible] a Treaty be greater signes of a reall intent[illegible] to peace; and shall now only insist upon H[illegible] former Message of the twenty sixth of this D[illegible]*cember*, That upon His repair to *W[illegible]* He doubts not but so to joyn His endea[illegible]vours with His two Houses of Parliament, [illegible] to give just satisfaction, not only concerning t[illegible] businesse of *Ireland*, but also for the settling [illegible] a way for the payment of the publique debt [illegible] well to the *Scots*, and to the City of *London*, [illegible] others. And as already He hath shewn a[illegible] way for the settling of the Militia, so He sha[illegible] carefully endeavour in all other particulars, th[illegible] none shall have cause to complain for want [illegible] security, whereby just Jealousies may arise [illegible] hinder the continuance of the desired pea[illegible] And certainly this proposition of a Person[illegible] Treaty could never have entred into His M[illegible]jesties thoughts, if He had not resolved [illegible] make apparant to all the World, that the p[illegible]lique good and peace of this Kingdome is [illegible] dearer to him, than the respect of any partic[illegible] interest. Wherefore none can oppose this m[illegible]tion, without a manifest demonstration, that [illegible] particularly envies His Majesty should be [illegible]

chief Author in ſo bleſſed a work, beſides the declaring himſelf a direct oppoſer of the happy peace of theſe Nations. To conclude, whoſoever will not be aſhamed that his fair and ſpecious proteſtations ſhould be brought to a true and publique teſt; and thoſe who have a reall ſenſe and doe truly commiſerate the miſeries of their bleeding Country, let them ſpeedily and cheerfully embrace his Majeſties propoſition for His perſonall Treaty at *Weſtminſter*, which by the bleſſing of God will undoubtedly to theſe now diſtracted Kingdomes, reſtore the happineſſe of a long wiſht for, and laſting peace.

Given at the Court at Oxford, *the* 29. *day of* December, 1645.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter, *and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

17.

His Majeſties *Meſſage of* January 15. 1645. *in purſuance of the former, containing His* Majeſties *Conceſſions and Offers.*

Oxford.

C. R.

BVt that theſe are times, wherein nothing is ſtrange, it were a thing much to be marvelled at, what ſhould cauſe this unparalleld long detention of His Majeſties Trumpet, now with His gracious Meſſage of the 26. of December laſt; peace being the only Subject of it, and his Majeſties perſonall Treaty the means propoſed for it. And it were almoſt as great

great a wonder that his Majesty should be so long from enquiring after it, if that the hope expectation thereof had not in some measure satisfied His impatience: But lest his Majesty by His long silence, should condemn Himself of carelessnesse in that, which so much concerns the good of all His people: He thinks it high time to enquire after His Trumpeter: For since all men who pretend any goodnesse must desire peace; and that all men know Treaties to be the best and most Christian way to procure it; and there being as little question that his Majesties Personal presence in it is the likeliest way to bring it to a happy Issue; He judges there must be some strange variety of accidents, which causeth this most tedious delay: Wherefore his Majesty earnestly desires to have a speedy account of his former Message, the Subject whereof is peace, and the means His personal presence at *Westminster*; where the government of the Church being settled, as it was in the times of the happy and glorious reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, and full liberty for the ease of their Consciences, who will not communicate in that service established by Law, and likewise for the free and publique use of the *Directory* (prescribed, and by command of the two Houses of Parliament, now practised in some parts of the City of *London*) to such as shall desire to use the same; and all forces being agreed to be disbanded, his Majesty will then forthwith (as He hath in his Message of the twenty ninth of *December* last, already offered) joyn with His two Houses of Parliament in settling some way for the payment of the publique Debts to His *Scots* Subjects, the City of *London*, and others. And his Majesty having proposed a fair way for the settling of the Militia, which now by this long delay seems not to be thought sufficient security: his Majesty (to shew how really He will imploy Himself at his comming to *Westminster*

minſter) for making this a laſting Peace, and taking away all Jealouſies (how groundleſſe ſoever) will endeavour upon debate with His two Houſes, ſo to diſpoſe of it (as likewiſe of the buſineſſe of *Ireland*) as may give to them and both Kingdoms juſt ſatisfaction; not doubting alſo but to give good contentment to His two Houſes of Parliament in the choice of the Lord Admirall, the Officers of State and others, if his two Houſes, by their ready inclinations to peace, ſhall give Him encouragement thereunto. Thus his Majeſty having taken occaſion by his juſt impatience ſo to explain his intentions that no man can doubt of a happy Iſſue in this ſucceeding Treaty: If now there ſhall be ſo much as a delay of the ſame, He calls God and the World to witneſſe, who they are, that not only hinder but reject this Kingdoms future happineſſe, it being ſo much the ſtranger that his Majeſties comming to *Weſtminſter* (which was firſt the greateſt pretence for taking up Arms) ſhould be ſo much as delayed much leſs not accepted or refuſed; but his Majeſty hopes, that God will no longer ſuffer the malice of wicked men to hinder the peace of this too much afflicted Kingdom.

Given at the Court at Oxford, *the* 15 *of* January, 1645.

To the Speaker of the House *of Peers pro tempore, To be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at* Weſtminſter, *and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

18.

His Majesties *Message of* Jan. 17. 1645. *for an Answer to His former Messages.*

Oxford.

C. R.

HIs Majesty thinks not fit now to answer those aspersions which are returned Arguments for His not admittance to *Westminster*, for a personall Treaty, because it would inforce a style not suitable to His end, it being the peace of those miserable Kingdomes; yet thus much He cannot but say to those who have sent Him this Answer, That if they had considered what they have done themselves in occasioning the shedding of so much innocent blood by withdrawing themselves from their duty to Him, in a time when He had granted so much to His Subjects, and in violating the known Laws of the Kingdome to draw an exorbitant power to themselves over their fellow Subjects, (to say no more to do as they have done) they could not have given such a false character of his Majesties actions. Wherefore his Majesty must now remember them, that having some hours before His receiving of their last paper of the 13. of *January*, sent another Message to them of the 15. wherein by divers particulars He enlargeth Himself to shew the reality of his endeavors for peace by his desired personall Treaty (which he still conceives to be the likeliest way to attain to that blessed end) He thinks fit by this Message to call for an Answer to that and indeed to all the former. For certainly no rationall man can think their last paper can be any Answer to His former demands the scope of it being that because there is a War, therefore there should be no Treaty for Peace. And is it possible

possible to expect that the propositions mentioned should be the grounds of a lasting peace, when the persons that send them will not endure to hear their own King speak? But what ever the successe hath been of his Majesties former Messages, or how small soever his hopes are of a better, considering the high strain of those who deal with his Majesty, yet he will neither want Fatherly bowels to His Subjects in generall, nor will He forget that God hath appointed Him for their King with whom He treats. Wherefore He now demands a speedy answer to His last and former Messages.

Given at Our Court at Oxford *this* 17. *of* January, 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.

19.

His Majesties *Message of* January 24. 1645. *for Answer to His former Message, and concerning their Reasons against a Personall Treaty.*

Oxford.

C. R

THe procuring Peace to these Kingdomes by Treaty, is so much desired by His Majesty, that no unjust aspersions whatsoever, or any other discouragements shall make Him desist from doing His endeavour therein, untill He shall see it altogether impossible: and therefore hath thought fitting so far only to make reply to that paper or Answer which He hath received

of

of the thirteenth of this instant *Janu*
as may take away those objections which
made against his Majesties comming to *We*
minster, expecting still an Answer to
Messages of the fifteenth and seventeen
which He hopes by this time have begot
better thoughts and resolutions in the Me
bers of both Houses. And first therefo
whereas in the said last paper it is objec
as an impediment to his Majesties pers
Treaty, that much innocent blood hath b
shed in this War, by his Majesties Comm
sions, &c. He will not now dispute (it b
ing apparent to all the World by wh
this blood hath been spilt) but rather pro
fesseth that there should be no more: and (
that end only) He hath desired this perso
Treaty, as judging it the most immedi
means to abolish so many horrid confusi
in all his Kingdomes. And it is no Arg
ment, to say, That there shall be no such pe
sonall Treaty, because there have been W
it being a strong inducement to have
a Treaty to put an end to the War. Se
condly, That there should be no such pe
sonall Treaty, because some of His Irish Su
jects have repaired to His assistance in
seems an Argument altogether as strange
the other; as alwayes urging that there shou
be no physick, because the party is sick
And in this particular it hath been often o
served unto them, that those whom they c
Irish, who have so expressed their loyalty
their Soveraign, were indeed (for the mo
part) such English Protestants, as had be
formerly sent into *Ireland* by the two Ho
ses, impossibilitated to stay there any long
by the neglect of those that sent them thith
who should there have better provided f
them. And for any forrain Forces, it
too apparant that their Armies have swar
ed with them, when his Majesty hath had ve
fe

[illegible] none. And whereas, for a third impediment, it is alledged that the Prince is in the Head of an Army in the West, and that there are divers Garrisons still kept in his Majesties obedience, and that there are forces in *Scotland*; it must be as much confessed, as that yet there is no peace: And therefore it is desired, that by such a personall Treaty, all these impediments may be removed. And it is not here amisse to put them in minde, how long since his Majesty did presse a disbanding of all forces on both sides, the refusing whereof, hath been the cause of this objection. And whereas exception is taken, that there is a time limited in the proposition for his Majesties personall Treaty, thereupon inferring, that He should again return to hostility, his Majesty protesteth that He seeks this Treaty to void future hostility, and to procure a lasting peace; and if He can meet with like inclinations to peace in those He desires to treat with, He will bring such affections and resolutions in himself, as shall end all these unhappy bloody differences. As for those engagements which his Majesty hath desired for his security, whosoever shall call to minde the particular occasions that enforced his Majesty to leave His City of *London* and *Westminster*, will judge his demand very reasonable and necessary for his safety. But He no way conceiveth how the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and Militia of *London*, were either subject or subordinate to that Authority which is alledged, as knowing neither Law nor reason for it: And if the two Armies be, as he believes it is more than can be paralleld in any former times in this Kingdome. Nor can his Majesty understand how his Majesties asking of a personall security can be any breach of priviledge: it being likely to be prejudged by hindering his Majesty from coming

ming freely to his two Houses. As for the objection that his Majesty omitted to mention the settling Religion, and securing the peace of His Native Kingdome, his Majesty declares, That he conceives that it was included in His former, and hath been particularly mentioned in His latter Message of the 15. present But, for their better satisfaction, He again expresseth that it was, and ever shall be, both His meaning and endeavour in this Treaty desired; and it seems to him very clear, that there is no way for the finall ending of such distractions as afflict this Kingdome, but either by Treaty or Conquest the latter of which his Majesty hopes none will have the impudency or impiety to wish for. And for the former, if His personall assistance in it be not the most likely way, let any reasonable man judge: when by this means not only all unnecessary delayes will be removed, but even the greatest difficulties made easie. And therefore He doth now again earnestly insist upon that propositions expecting to have a better answer upon mature consideration. And can it be imagined that any propositions will be so effectuall, being formed before a personall Treaty, as such as are framed and propounded upon a full debate on both sides? Wherefore his Majesty who is most concerned in the good of His people, and is most desirous to restore peace and happinesse to His three Kingdomes, doth again instantly desire an Answer to His six former Messages, to which He hath hitherto received none. *Given at Our Court at Oxford the 24. of* January 1645.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, *and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

20.

His Majesties *Message of* January 29. 1645. *about* Ireland, *and His* Majesties *further Concessions, and desire of a personall Treaty.*

Oxford.

C. R.

His Majesty having received Information from the Lord Lieutenant and Councell in *Ireland*; That the Earl of *Glamorgan* hath, without his or their directions or privity, entred into a Treaty with some Commissioners on the Roman Catholick party there, and also drawn up and agreed unto certain Articles with the said Commissioners, highly derogatory to his Majesties Honour and Royall Dignity, and most prejudiciall unto the Protestant Religion and Church there in *Ireland*: Whereupon the said Earl of *Glamorgan* is arrested, upon suspition of high Treason, and imprisoned by the said Lord Lieutenant and Councell, at the instance and by the impeachment of the Lord *Digby*, who (by reason of his place and former imployment in these affairs) doth best know how contrary that proceeding of the said Earl hath been to his Majesties Intentions and Directions, and what great prejudice it might bring to his affairs, if those proceedings of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, should be any wayes understood to have been done by the directions, liking, or approbation of his Majesty.

His Majesty, having in his former Messages for a personall Treaty offered to give contentment to his two Houses in the businesse of *Ireland*; hath now thought fitting, the better to shew his clear intentions, and to give satisfaction to his said Houses of Parliament, and the rest of His Subjects in all His Kingdomes;

Kingdomes; to send this Declaration to h
said Houses, containing, the whole truth
the businesse, which is,

That the Earl of *Glamorgan* having ma
offer unto him to raise Forces in the Kingdo
of *Ireland*, and to conduct them into *Engla*
for his Majesties Service, had a Commission
that purpose, and to that purpose only.

That he had no Commission at all to tre
of any thing else, without the privity and
rections of the Lord Lieutenant, much l
to capitulate any thing concerning Religio
or any propriety, belonging either to Chu
or Laity.

That it clearly appears by the Lord Lieu
nants proceedings with the said Earl, That
had no notice at all of what the said Earl h
treated and pretended to have capitulat
with the Irish, untill by accident it came
his knowledge.

And his Majesty doth protest, That un
such time as he had advertisement, that th
person of the said Earl of *Glamorgan* was a
rested and restrained, as is above said, He ne
ver heard, nor had any kinde of notice, th
the said Earl had entred into any kinde o
Treaty or Capitulation with those Irish Com
missioners: much lesse, that he had conclude
or signed those Articles so distructive both t
Church and State, and so repugnant to his Ma
jesties publick professions, and known Reso
tions.

And for the further vindication of his Ma
jesties honour and integrity herein, He doth
declare, That he is so farre from considering
any thing contained in those Papers or Wri
tings framed by the said Earl, and those Com
missioners with whom He treated, as He doth
absolutely disavow him therein, and hath gi
ven commandment to the Lord Lieutenant
and the Councell there, to proceed against th
said Earl, as one, who either out of falsenes

presump

presumption, or folly, hath so hazarded the blemishing of his Majesties Reputation with his good Subjects, and so impertunently framed those Articles of his own head, without the consent, privity, or directions of his Majesty, or the Lord Lieutenant, or any of his Majesties Councel there. But true it is, that for the necessary preservation of his Majesties Protestant Subiects in *Ireland*, whose case was daily represented unto Him to be so desperate, his Majesty had given Commission to the Lord Lieutenant to treat and conclude such a peace there, as might be for the safety of that Crown, the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and no way derogatory to his own honour and publick professions.

But to the end, that his Majesties reall intentions in this businesse of *Ireland*, may be the more clearly understood, and to give more ample satisfaction to both Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, especially concerning His Majesties not being engaged in any peace or agreement there: He doth desire, if the two Houses shall resolve to admit of his Majesties repair to *London*, for a personall Treaty, (as is formerly proposed) that speedy notice be given thereof to his Majesty, and a Passe or safe conduct, with a blank sent for a Messenger to be immediately dispatcht into *Ireland*, to prevent any accident that may happen to hinder his Majesties resolution of leaving the managing of the businesse of *Ireland*, wholly to the two Houses, and to make no peace there, but with their consent, which in case it shall please God to blesse His endeavours in the Treaty with successe, his Majesty doth hereby engage himself to doe.

And for a further explanation of His Majesties mentions in His former Messages, He doth now declare, That if his personal repair to *London* as aforesaid, shall be admitted, and a

Peace

Peace thereon shall ensue, He will then [illegible] the nomination of the persons to be intrusted with the Militia, wholly to His two Houses with such power and limitations as are expressed in the paper delivered by his Majesties Commissioners at *Uxbridge* the fixth of February, 1644. for the term of seven years, hath been desired to be given immediately after the conclusion of the Peace, the disbanding of all Forces on both sides, and the disbanding of the Garrisons erected since these present troubles, so as at the expiration of the time before mentioned, the power of the Militia shall entirely revert and remain as before.

And for their further security, his Majesty (the Peace succeeding) will be content, that *pro hâc vice*, the two Houses shall nominate the Admiral, Officers of State, and Judges to hold their places during life, or *quâm diu se bene gesserint*, which shall be best liked, to be accountable to none but the King, and the two Houses of Parliament.

As for matter of Religion; His Majesty doth further declare, That by the liberty granted in His Message of the 15. present, for the ease of their Consciences who will not communicate in the service already established by the Law of Parliament in this Kingdome; He intends that all other Protestants behaving themselves peaceably in and towards the Civil Government, shall have the free exercise of their Religion, according to their own way.

And for the totall removing of all Fears and Jealousies his Majesty is willing to have it, that upon the conclusion of peace, there shall be a general Act of Oblivion and free pardon past by Act of Parliament in both His Kingdomes respectively.

And lest it should be imagined that in making these propositions, his Majesties Kingdome of *Scotland*, and his Subjects there

…ten forgotten or neglected, his Majesty de-…lares, That what is here mentioned touching …he Militia, and the naming of Officers of State …nd Judges, shall likewise extend to his King-…dome of *Scotland*.

And now his Majesty having so fully and …learly expressed his intentions and desires of …aking a happy and well-grounded Peace, if …ny person shall decline that happiness by op-…posing of so apparent a way of attaining it, he …will sufficiently demonstrate to all the World …his intention and designe can be no other, than …the total subversion and change of the ancient …and happy Government of this Kingdome, un-…der which the English Nation hath so long …flourished.

Given at Our Court at Oxon *the* 29 *of* Janu-…ary, 1645.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament, at* West-minster, *and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

21.

His Majesties Message for an Answer to His last. February 20. 1645.

Oxford.

R.

HIs Majesty needs to make no excuse, though He sent no more Messages unto …m; for He very well knows He ought not …ose it, if He either stood upon punctilio's …nour, or his own private interest; the …r being already cal'd in question by his often …ing; and the other assuredly prejudg'd, …n must be concluded from that He hath al-…ready

ready offered, He having therein departed
many of his undoubted Rights. But
being equally dear unto Him, to the
servation of his people, his Majesty pas
many scruples, neglects, and delayes, and
more desires you to give him a speedy
to his last Message; for his Majesty be
it doth very wel become him (after thi
long delay) at last to utter his impa
since that the goods and blood of his Sub
cries so much for peace.

Given at the Court at Oxford *the* 28
February, 1644.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster, *and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

22.

His Majesties *Message for His comming to* London, *upon the faith of the two Houses*, Mar.
1645.

Oxford.

C. R.

NOtwithstanding the unexpected
instead of answer to his Majesties
and gracious Messages to both Houses, wh
it may appear, that they desire to obtain
ends by force, rather than treaty, which
justly discourage his Majesty from any
overtures of that kinde, yet his Majesty
ceives He shall be much wanting to his
to God, and in what he oweth to the
his people, if he should not intend to
the great inconveniences that may other
hinder a safe and well grounded Peace.

Majesty therefore now proposeth that so He may have the faith of both Houses of Parliament, for the preservation of His honour, person, and estate; and that liberty be given to all those who doe and have adhered to his Majesty, to goe to their own houses, and there to live peaceably enjoying their estates, all Sequestrations being taken off, without being compelled to take any Oath not enjoyned by the undoubted Laws of the Kingdom, or being put to any other molestation whatsoever, He will immediately disband all his Forces, and dismantle all his Garrisons, and being accompanied with his Royal, not his Martiall attendance, return to his two Houses of Parliament, and there reside with them. And for the better security of all his Majesties Subjects He proposeth that He with his said two Houses immediately upon His comming to *Westminster* will passe an Act of Oblivion and free pardon, and where his Majesty will further doe whatsoever they will advise Him for the good and peace of this Kingdom. And as for the Kingdom of *Scotland* his Majesty hath made no mention of it here, in regard of the great losse of time which must now be spent in expecting an Answer from thence, but declares that, immediately upon his coming to *Westminster* He will apply Himself to give them all satisfaction touching that Kingdom. If his Majesty could possibly doubt the success of this offer, He could use many Arguments to perswade them to it; but shall only insist on that great one, of giving an instant ease to these afflicted Kingdoms.

Given at Our Court at Oxford, *the* 23. *of* March, 1645.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster.

23.

His Majesties *Message of* May 18. 1646. *from* Southwell, *containing His further Concessions for the obtaining of Peace.*

C. R.

HIs Majesty having understood from both his Houses of Parliament, that it was not safe for Him to come to *London* (whither he had purposed to repair, if so He might, by their advice to doe whatever may be best for the good and Peace of these Kingdoms) untill He shall first give his consent to such Propositions as were to be presented to him from them: and being certainly informed that the Armies were marching so fast up to *Oxford*, and made that a fit place for treating, did resolve to withdraw Himself hither only to secure his own Person, and with no intention to continue this War any longer, or to make any division between the two Kingdoms but to give such contentment to both, as, by the blessing of God, He might bring a happy and well-grounded Peace, thereby to bring prosperity to these Kingdomes, answerable to the best times of his Progenitors.

And since the setling of Religion ought to be the chiefest care of all Councells His Majesty most earnestly and heartily recommends to his two Houses of Parliament the wayes and means possible for speedy finishing this pious and necessary work; and particularly, that they take the advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms assembled at *Westminster*. Likewise concerning the Militia of *England*, for securing his people against all pressions of danger, his Majesty is pleased to [illegible] it settled as was offered at the Treaty at [illegible] *bridge*, all the persons being to be named [illegible] the Trust by the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, for the space of seven years,

after the expiring of that term, that it be regulated as shall be agreed upon by his Majesty and His two Houses of Parliament.

And the like for the Kingdome of *Scotland*.

Concerning the Warres in *Ireland*, his Majesty will doe whatsoever is possible for Him to give full satisfaction therein.

And if these be not satisfactory, his Majesty then desires that all such of the Propositions as are already agreed upon by both Kingdoms, may be speedily sent unto Him; his Majesty being resolved to comply with his Parliament in every thing that shall be for the happinesse of His Subiects and for the removing of all unhappy differences, which have produced so many sad effects.

His Majesty having made these offers, he will neither question the thankfull acceptation of them; nor doth he doubt but that his two Kingdoms will be carefull to maintain Him in his honour, and in his just and lawfull Rights, which is the only way to make a happy composure of these unnatural divisions. And likewise will think upon a solid way of conserving the Peace between the two Kingdoms for time to come; and will take a speedy course for easing and quieting his afflicted people by satisfying the publique debts, by disbanding of all Armies, and whatsoever else shall be judged conducible to that end: that so, all hindrances being removed He may return to his Parliament with mutuall comfort.

Southwel, May 18. 1646.

POST-SCRIPT.

His Majesty being desirous to shun the further effusion of blood and to evidence His reall intentions to Peace, is willing that His Forces in and about Oxford *be disbanded and the fortifications of the City dismantled, they receiving honorable conditions. Which being granted to*

the Town and Forces there. his Majesty will give the like order to the rest of the Garrisons.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore. to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, *and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

24.

His Majesties *Message from* Newcastle, June 10. 1646. *for Propositions of Peace, and a personall Treaty at* London, *with His Letter to the Governors of all His Garrisons.*

C. R.

HIs Majesty looking with grief of heart upon the sad sufferings of His people in His three Kingdomes for some yeers past, and being afflicted with their distresses and unquiet condition, through the distractions about Religion, the keeping of Forces on foot in the Fields and Garrisons, the not satisfying the publique debts, and the fears of the further effusion of blood by the continuance of an unnaturall War in any of these Kingdomes, or by renting and dividing these Kingdomes so happily united: And having sent a gracious Message unto both Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, expressing the necessary causes of His comming from *Oxford* unto the Scottish Army, (without any intention to make a Division, where He is in freedome and right Capacity to settle a true peace) and containing such offers as He conceived would have been accepted, with a generall clause of complying with their desires; And being impatient of delayes and

not acquainted with the particulars which may give contentment to them, his Majesty doth earnestly desire, That the Propositions of peace so often promised, and so much expected, may be speedily sent unto Him, That upon consideration of them, He may apply himselfe to give such satisfaction, as may be the foundation of a firm peace. And for the better and more speedy attaining thereunto, his Majesty doth further propound, That He may come to *London* with Safety, Freedomes and Honour, where He resolves to comply with his Houses of Parliament in every thing which may be most for the good of his Subjects, and perfect what remains for setling both Kingdomes and people in a happy condition; being likewise most confident, That they according to their reiterated Declarations, and solemn Protestations, will be zealous in the maintenance of his Honour, and just and lawfull Rights. And his Majesty desires the Houses of Parliament, To disburden the Kingdome of all Forces and Garrisons in their power, except such as before these unhappy Times have been maintain'd for the necessary defence and safety of this Kingdome; So He is willing forthwith to disband all his Forces and Garrisons within the same, as the inclosed order herewith sent will evidence. And if upon these offers his Majesty shall have such satisfaction as He may be confident a firm peace shall ensue thereon, his Majesty will then give order for his Sonne the Prince his speedy return.

Newcastle, the 20th of June 1646.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of* England, *at* Westminster, *and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

Charls R.

HAving resolved to comply with the de
sires of Our Parliament in every thi
which may be for the good of our Subject
and leave no means unassayed for remov
all differences amongst us; Therefore we ha
thought fit the more to evidence the reality
Our intentions of settling a happy and fir
peace, to require you, upon honourable ter
to quit those Towns, Castles, and Forts,
trusted to you by us, and to disband all
Forces under your several commands.

Newcastle the tenth of June 1645.

To Our trusty and wel-beloved { Sir *Thomas Glenham.* Sir *Thomas Tildesly.* Col. *H. Washington.* Col. *Thomas Blagg.*

Governours of Our Cities and for
of *Oxford*, *Lichfield*, *Worcester*,
Wallingford.

And all other Commanders of any Tow
Castles, and Forts in Our Kingdome
England.

25.

His Majesties *Message of* August 1646. fr
Newcastle. *for a personal Treaty, and*
London, *upon the Propositions sent to him.*

C. R.

THe Propositions tendred to his Maj
by the Commissioners from the L
and Commons assembled in the Parliament
England at *Westminster*, and the Comm
sioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, (to

the Houſes of Parliament have taken twice ſo many moneths for deliberation, as they have aſſigned dayes for his Majeſties Anſwer) doe import ſo great alterations in Government, both in Church and Kingdome, as it is very difficult to return a particular and poſitive Anſwer before a full Debate, wherein theſe Propoſitions and the neceſſary explanations, true ſenſe and reaſons thereof be rightly weighed and underſtood, and that his Majeſty upon a full view of the whole Propoſitions may know what is left, as well as what is taken away and changed. In all which he findes (upon diſcourſe with the ſaid Commiſsioners) that they are to bound up from any capacity, either to give reaſons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to ſuch deſires as his Majeſty is to propound, as it is impoſsible for Him to give ſuch a preſent judgement of, and anſwer to theſe propoſitions, whereby he can anſwer to God that a ſafe and well-grounded peace will enſue (which is evident to all the World can never be, unleſs the juſt power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propriety of the Subject, with the juſt liberty and priviledges of the Parliament be likewiſe ſettled) To which end his Majeſty deſires and propoſeth to come to *London* or any of his Houſes thereabouts upon the publick faith, and ſecurity of the two Houſes of Parliament, and the Scotch Commiſsioners, That he ſhall be there with freedome, honour, and ſafety, where by his perſonall preſence he may not only raiſe a mutuall confidence betwixt him and his people, but alſo have theſe doubts cleared, and theſe difficulties explaned unto him, which he now conceives to be deſtructive to his juſt regal power, if he ſhall give a full conſent to theſe propoſitions as they now ſtand.

As likewiſe that he may make known to them, ſuch his reaſonable demands as he is moſt aſſured will be very much conducible to that

peace, which all good men desire and pray for; by the settling of Religion, the just priviledges of Parliament, with the freedome and propriety of the Subject; and his Majesty assures them, that as he can never condiscend unto what is absolutely destructive to that just power, which by the Laws of God and the Land he is born unto; So he will cheerfully grant and give his assent unto all such Bills, at the desire of his two Houses, or reasonable demands for *Scotland*, which shall be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own particular (much less of any bodies else) in respect of the happiness of these Kingdoms. Wherefore his Majesty conjures them as Christians, as Subjects, and as men who desire to leave a good name behinde them, that they will so receive and make use of this Answer, that all issues of blood may be stopped, and these unhappy distractions peaceably settled.

Newcastle August 1. 1646.

POST-SCRIPT.

Upon assurance of a happy agreement, his Majesty will immediately send for the Prince his Son, absolutely expecting his personall Obedience to return into this Kingdome.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.

25.

His Majesties *Message from* Newcastle, August 10. 1646. *with a general Answer to the Propositions, and his desire to treat at or neer* London.

C. R.

THe Propositions tendred to his Majesty by the Commissioners from the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* (to which the Houses of Parliament have taken twice so many moneths for deliberation as they have assigned dayes for his Majesties Answer) doe import so great alterations in government both in the Church and Kingdome, as it is very difficult to return a particular and positive Answer before a full Debate, wherein these Propositions and the necessary explanations, true sense and reasons thereof be rightly weighed and understood, and that his Majesty upon a full view of the whole propositions may know what is left, as well as what is taken away and changed. In all which he findes upon discourse with the said Commissioners, that they are so bound up from any capacity, either to give reasons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to such desires as his Majesty is to propound, as it is impossible for him to give such a present judgement of, and answer to these propositions, whereby he can answer to God that a safe and well-grounded Peace will ensue (which is evident to all the World can never be, unless the just power of the Crown, as well as the freedome and propriety of the Subject, with the just liberty and priviledges of the Parliament be likewise settled) To which end

his Majesty desires and propoſeth to come to *London*, or any of his Houſes thereabouts upon the publick Faith, and ſecurity of the two Houſes of Parliament, and the Scotch Commiſſioners, that he ſhall be there with freedom, honour, and ſafety, where by his perſonall preſence he may not only raiſe a mutuall confidence betwixt him and his people, but alſo have thoſe doubts cleared, and thoſe difficulties explained unto him, which he now conceives to be diſtructive to his juſt Regal power, if he ſhall give a full conſent to theſe propoſitions as they now ſtand.

As likewiſe that he make known to them ſuch his reaſonable demands as he is moſt aſſured will be very much conducible to that peace, which all good men deſire and pray for, by the ſettling of Religion, the juſt priviledges of Parliament, with the freedome and propriety of the Subject; and his Majeſty aſſures them, that as he can never conſent unto what is abſolutely deſtructive to that juſt power, which by the Laws of God and the Land he is born unto; ſo he will cheerfully grant and give his aſſent unto all ſuch Bills at the deſire of his two Houſes, or reaſonable demands for *Scotland* which ſhall be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own particular (much leſs of any bodies elſe) in reſpect of the happineſs of theſe Kingdomes: Wherefore his Majeſty conjures them as Chriſtians, as Subjects, and as men who deſire to leave a good name behinde them, that they will ſo receive and make uſe of this anſwer, that all iſſues of blood may be ſtopped, and theſe unhappy diſtractions peaceably ſettled.

To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.

POST-

POST-SCRIPT.

Upon assurance of a happy agreement, his Majesty will immediately send for the Prince his Son, absolutely expecting his perfect obedience to return into this Kingdome.

27.

His Majesties Message of Decemb. 20. 1646. from Newcastle, for a personal Treaty, at or neer London, upon the faith of the two Houses.

C. R.

HIs Majesties thoughts being alwayes sincerely bent to the peace of his Kingdomes, was and will be ever desirous to take allwaies which might the most clearly make appear the candour of his intentions to his people. And to this end, could finde no better way than to propose a personall free Debate with his two Houses of Parliament upon all the present differences: Yet finding, very much against his expectations, that his offer was laid aside, his Majesty bent all his thoughts to make his intentions fully known by a particular Answer to the Propositions delivered to him in the name of both Kingdomes, the 24. of July last: But the more he endeavoured it, he more plainly saw that any answer he could make would be Subject to mis-informations and mis-constructions, which upon his own Paraphrases and Explanations he is most confident will give so good satisfaction, as would doubtless cause a happy and lasting peace. Left there-

therefore that good intentions may produce all effects, his Majesty again proposeth, and desires again to come to *London*, or any of his Houses thereabouts, upon the publick faith and security of his two Houses of Parliament, and the Scotch Commissioners, that he shall be there with honour, freedome, and safety; Where, by his personal presence, he may not only raise a mutual confidence betwixt him and his people, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained to him, without which he cannot (but with the aforesaid mischievous inconveniences) give a particular answer to the propositions: And with which he doubts not, but so to manifest his real intentions for the settling of Religion, the just priviledges of Parliament, with the freedome and property of the Subject, that it shall not be in the power of wicked and malicious men to hinder the establishing of that firm Peace, which all honest men desire: Assuring them, as he will make no other demands but such as he believes confidently to be just, and much conducing to the tranquillity of the people: So he will be most willing to condescend to them in whatsoever shall be really for their good and happinesse. Not doubting likewise but you will also have a due regard to maintain the just power of the Crown, according to your many protestations and professions. For certainly, except King and People have reciprocall care each of other, neither can be happy,

To conclude, 'tis your King who desires to be heard, (the which, if refused to a Subject by a King, he will be thought a Tyrant for it) and for that end which all men professe to desire. Wherefore his Majesty conjures you, as you desire to shew your selves really what you professe, even as you are good Christians and Subjects, that you will accept this his offer, which he is confident God will so bless

that

that it will be the readiest means by which their Kingdoms may again become a comfort to their friends and and a terrour to their enemies.

Newcastle, 20. December, 1646.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

28

His Majesties Message of Febr. 17. 1646. from Holmby, concerning His Chaplains.

SInce I have never dissembled, nor hid my Conscience, and that I am not yet satisfied with the alteration of Religion, to which you desire My consent: I will not yet lose time in giving reasons, which are too obvious to every body, why it is fit for Me to be attended by some of my Chaplains, whose opinions as Clergymen, I esteem and reverence; not only for the exercise of My Conscience, but also for clearing of my judgement concerning the present differences in Religion; as I have at full declared to Mr. *Marshall*, and his *Fellow-Ministers* having shewed them, that it is the best and likeliest means of giving Me satisfaction which without it I cannot have in these times: Whereby the distractions of this Church may be the better settled. Wherefore I desire that at least two of these *Reverend Divines*, whose names I have here set down, may have free li-

here

berty to wait upon Me, for the discharging of their duty unto Me, according to their function.

CHARLES R.

Holmby, 17. Febr. 1646.

B. *London.*	D. *Sanderson.*
B. *Salisbury.*	D. *Basly.*
B. *Peterborough.*	D. *Heywood.*
D. *Sheldon*, Clerk of my Closet.	D. *Beale*
D. *Marsh.*, Dean of *York.*	D. *Fuller.*
	D. *Tammond.*
	D. *Haylar.*

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, &c.

29.

His Majesties Message of March 6. 1645. from Holmby, in pursuance of the former.

C. R.

IT being now seventeen dayes since I wrote to you from hence, and not yet receiving any answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you. And indeed concerning any thing but the necessary duty of a Christian, I would not thus at this time trouble you with any of My desires. But My being attended with some of My Chaplains, whom I esteem and reverence as necessary for Me, even considering my present condition, whether it be in relation to my Conscience, or a happy settlement of the present distractions in Religion, that I will suffer divers kinds of censures, rather than not obtain what I demand; nor shall I doe

the wrong, as in this, to doubt the obtaining of My wills, it being totally grounded upon Reason. For desiring you to consider (not thinking it needfull to mention) the divers reasons, which no Christian can be ignorant of, for point of Conscience, I must assure you that I cannot, as I ought, take in consideration those alterations in Religion, which have and will be offered unto me, without such help as I desire, because I can never judge rightly of it, be altered in any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the Truth is denyed Me: but when this is granted Me, I promise you faithfully, not to strive for victory in argument, but to seek and submit to Truth (according to that judgement which God hath given me) alwayes holding it my best and greatest conquest to give contentment to my two Houses of Parliament in all things, which I conceive not to be against my Conscience or Honour; not doubting likewise but that you will be ready to satisfie me in reasonable things, as I hope to finde in this particular concerning the attendance of my Chaplains upon Me.

CHARLS R.

Holdenby, 6. March, 1646.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament, at Westminster.

30.

His Majesties *Message, with His Answer in particular to the Propositions*, May 12. 1647.

Holmby.

C. R.

AS the daily expectation of the comming of the Propositions hath made his Majesty this long time to forbear giving his Answer unto them, so the appearance of their sending being no more for any thing He can hear, than it was at His first comming hither notwithstanding that the Earl of *Louderdale* hath been at *London* above these ten dayes (whose not comming was said to be the obstop) hath caused his Majesty thus to anticipate their comming to Him; and yet considering His condition, that his Servants are denyed accesse to Him, all but very few and those by appointment, not his own election, and that is declared a crime for any but the Commissioners, or such who are particularly permitted by them, to converse with his Majesty, or that any Letters should be given to, or received from Him, may He not truly say, that He is not in case fit to make Concessions, or give Answers since He is not Master of these ordinary actions, which are the undoubted rights of any free-born man, how mean soever his birth be. And certainly he would still be silent upon this subject, until his condition were amended did He not preferre such a right understanding betwixt Him and his Parliament of both Kingdoms, which may make a firm and lasting Peace in all His Dominions, before any particular of His own, or any earthly blessing: and therefore hath diligently employed His utmost endeavours for divers months past, so to inform His understanding

satis-

ſatisfie His Conſcience, that He might be able
to give ſuch Anſwers to the Propoſitions, as
would be moſt conformable to His Parlia-
ments; but He ingeniouſly profeſſes, that
notwithſtanding all the pains that He hath
taken therein, the nature of ſome of them ap-
pears ſuch unto Him that without diſclaiming
that Reaſon which God hath given Him to
judge by, for the good of Him and His Peo-
ple, and without putting the greateſt violence
upon His own Conſcience, He cannot give His
conſent to all of them. Yet his Majeſty (that
it may appear to all the World how deſirous
he is to give full ſatisfaction) hath thought fit
thereby to expreſſe his readineſſe to grant what
he may, and His willingneſſe to receive from
them, and that perſonally if his two Houſes at
Weſtminſter ſhall approve thereof, ſuch further
information in the reſt, as may beſt convince
his judgement, and ſatisfie thoſe doubts which
are not yet clear unto Him; deſiring them al-
ſo to conſider, that if his Majeſty intended to
winde Himſelf out of theſe troubles by indi-
rect means, were it not eaſie for Him, now
readily to conſent to what hath, or ſhall be
propoſed unto Him and afterwards chooſe
his time to break all, alledging, That forc'd
concelsions are not to be kept; ſurely He
might, and not incurre a hard cenſure from in-
diferent men. But maximes in this kinde
are not the guides of his Majeſties Actions for
he freely and clearly avows, that He holds it
unlawfull for any man, and moſt baſe in, a
King to recede from His promiſes, for having
them obtained by force or under reſtraint:
therefore his Majeſty not only rejecting thoſe
things which He eſteems unworthy of Him, but
even paſsing by that which He might well in-
ſiſt upon, a point of honour, in reſpect of His
preſent condition thus anſwers the firſt Propo-
ſition. That upon his Majeſties comming to
London, He will heartily joyn in all that ſhall

concern

concern the honour of his two Kingdomes, or the Assembly of the States of *Scotland*, or of the Commissioners or Deputies of either Kingdome, particularly in those things which are desired in that proposition, upon confidence that all of them respectively with the same tenderneſſe will look upon those things which concern his Majesties honour.

In answer to all the propositions concerning Religion, his Majesty proposeth, that He will confirm the Presbyteriall government, the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, and the Directory, for three yeers, being the time set down by the two Houses, so that his Majesty and his houshold be not hindered from that form of Gods service which they formerly have: And also, that a free consultation and debate be had with the Divines at *Westminster* (twenty of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majesty and the two Houses, how the Church shall be governed after the said three yeers or sooner, if differences may be agreed. Touching the Covenant, his Majesty is not yet therein satisfied, and desires to respite his particular Answer thereunto until his comming to *London*, because it being a matter of conscience he cannot give a resolution therein till he may be assisted with the advice of some of his own Chapplains (which hath hitherto been denied him) and such other Divines as shall be most proper to inform him therein; and then he will make clearly appear, both his zeal to the Protestant profession and the union of these two Kingdoms which he conceives to be the main drift of this Covenant. To the seventh and eighth propositions, his Majesty will consent. To the ninth, his Majesty doubts not but to give good satisfaction when he shall be particularly informed how the said penalties shall be levied and disposed of. To the tenth his Majes-

Majesties answer is, That He hath been alwayes ready to prevent the practices of Papists, and therefore is content to passe an Act of Parliament for that purpose: And also that the Laws against them be duly executed. His Majesty will give his consent to the Act for the due observation of the Lords day, for the suppressing of Innovations, and those concerning the preaching of Gods Word, and touching Non-Residence, and Pluralities, and his Majesty will yeeld to such Act or Acts as shall be requisite to raise monies for the payment and satisfying all publick debts, expecting also that His will be therein included. As to the Propesition touching the Militia, though his Majesty cannot consent unto it *in terminis* as it is proposed, because thereby He conceives, he wholly parts with the power of the Sword entrusted to Him by God and the Laws of the Land, for the protection and government of his people, thereby at once devesting himself, and dis-inheriting His posterity of that Right and Prerogative of the Crown, which is absolutely necessary to the Kingly Office, and so weaken Monarchy in this Kingdome, that little more than the name and shadow of it will remain: yet if it be only security for the preservation of the peace of this Kingdome, after the unhappy troubles, and the due performance of all the agreements which are now to be concluded, which is desired, (which his Majesty alwayes understood to be the case, and hopes that herein He is not mistaken) his Majesty will give abundant satisfaction, to which end He is willing by Act of Parliament, That the whole power of the Militia, both by Sea and Land for the space of ten yeers be in the hands of such persons as the two Houses shall nominate, giving them power during the said term to change the said persons, and substitute others in their places at pleasure, and afterwards to return to the proper

per channell again, as it was in the times of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* of blessed memory. And now his Majesty conjures His two Houses of Parliament, as they are Englishmen, and lovers of peace, by the duty they owe to his Majesty their King, and by the bowels of compassion they have to their fellow Subjects, that they will accept of this his Majesties offer, whereby the joyfull news of peace may be restored to this languishing Kingdome. His Majesty will grant the like to the Kingdome of *Scotland* if it be desired, and agree to all things that are propounded touching the conserving of peace betwixt the two Kingdomes.

Touching *Ireland* (other things being agreed) his Majesty will give satisfaction therein. As to the mutuall Declarations proposed to be established in both Kingdomes by Act of Parliament, and the Modifications, Qualifications, and Branches which follow in the Propositions, his Majesty only professes, that He doth not sufficiently understand, nor is able to reconcile many things contained in them; but this He well knoweth, That a generall Act of Oblivion is the best bond of Peace; and that after intestine troubles, the wisdome of this and other Kingdomes hath usually and happily in all Ages granted generall Pardons, whereby the numerous discontentments of many persons and Families otherwise exposed to ruin, might not become fewel to new disorders or seeds to future troubles. His Majesty therefore desires that his two Houses of Parliament would seriously descend into these considerations, and likewise tenderly look upon His condition herein, and the perpetuall dishonour that must cleave to Him, if He shall thus abandon so many persons of Condition and Fortune, that have engaged themselves with and for Him, out of a sense of duty, and propounds as a very acceptable testimony of their affection to Him, That a generall Act of Obli-

vion

ion and free Pardon be forthwith paſſed by Act of Parliament. Touching the new great Seal, his Majeſty is very willing to confirm both it, and all the Acts done by vertue thereof, untill this preſent time, ſo that it be not thereby preſſed to make void thoſe Acts of His done by vertue of His great Seal, which in honour and juſtice he is obliged to maintain: And that the future government thereof may be in his Majeſty, according to the due courſe of Law. Concerning the Officers mentioned in the 19. Article, his Majeſty when he ſhall come to *Weſtminſter*, will gratifie his Parliament all that poſsibly He may, without deſtroying the alterations which are neceſſary for the Crown. His majeſty will willingly conſent to the Act for the confirmation of the priviledges and cuſtomes of the City of *London*, and all that is mentioned in the propoſitions for their particular advantage. And now that his Majeſty hath thus far endeavoured to comply with the deſires of his two Houſes of Parliament, to the end that this agreement may be firm and laſting, without the leaſt face or queſtion of reſtraint to blemiſh the ſame, his Majeſty earneſtly deſires preſently to be admitted to his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, with that honour which is due to their Soveraign, there ſolemnly to confirm the ſame, and legally to paſſe the Acts before mentioned, and to give and receive as well ſatisfaction in all the remaining particulars, as likewiſe ſuch other pledges of mutuall love, truſt, and confidence, as ſhall moſt concern the good of him and his people; upon which happy agreement, his Majeſty will diſpatch his direction to the Prince his Sonne, to return immediately to him, and will undertake for his ready obedience thereunto. *Holmby May* 12. 1647.

By the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at* Weſtminſter.

His

31.

His Majesties *Message, with His Answers to Propositions presented to Him at* Hampton Court, September 9. 1647.

Hampton-Court.

C. R.

HIs Majesty cannot choose but be passionately sensible (as He believes all His good Subjects are) of the late great distractions, and still languishing and unsettled state of this Kingdome; and He calls God to witnesse, and is willing to give testimony to the World of His readinesse to contribute His utmost endeavours for restoring it to a happy and flourishing condition. His Majesty having perused the propositions now brought to Him, findes them the same in effect, which were offered to Him at *Newcastle*. To some of which as He could not then consent without violation of His conscience and Honour, So neither can He agree to others now conceiving them in many respects much disagreeable to the present condition of affairs than when they were formerly presented to Him, as being destructive to the main principall interests of the Army, and of all those whose affections concur with them. And His Majesty having seen the propositions sent to the Commissioners from His two Houses residing with them, and with them to be treated on, in order to the clearing and securing of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdome, and the settling of a just and lasting peace, which propositions, as He conceives his two Houses not to be strangers; So He believes they will think with Him, that they much tend to conduce to the satisfaction of all interests, and may be a fitter foundation for a lasting peace

than the propositions which at this time are tendred unto Him. He therefore propounds as the best way in his judgment in order to peace) that his two Houses would instantly take into consideration those proposals, upon which there may be a personall Treaty with his Majesty, and upon such other propositions as his Majesty shall make: hoping that the said proposals may be so moderated in the said Treaty, as to render them the more capable of his Majesties full concession: Wherein he resolves to give full satisfaction to His people for whatsoever shall concern the settling of the Protestant profession, with liberty to tender consciences, and the securing of the Laws Liberties and properties of all his Subjects, and the just priviledges of Parliaments for the future: and likewise by His present deportment in this Treaty, He will make the World cleerly judge of his intentions in matters of future Government. In which Treaty his Majesty will be well pleased (if it be thought fit) that Commissioners from the Army, (whose the proposals are) may likewise be admitted. His Majesty therefore conjures his two Houses of Parliament, by the duty they owe to God, and his Majesty their King, and by the bowels of compassion they have to their fellow Subjects, both for the relief of their present sufferings, and to prevent future miseries, that they will forthwith accept of this his Majesties offer, whereby the joyfull news of peace may be restored to this distressed Kingdome; And for what concerns the Kingdome of *Scotland* mentioned in the propositions, his Majesty will very willingly Treat upon those particulars with the Scotch Commissioners; and doubts not, but to give reasonable satisfaction to that His Kingdome.

Hampton-Court *the 9. of* September 1647.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated, &c.*

His

32.

His Majesties *Message left on his Table at* Hampton-Court, Novemb. 11. 1647.

C. R.

LIberty being that which in all times hath been, but especially now is the common theam and desire of all men; common reason shewes, that Kings lesse than should endure captivity. And yet, I call God and the World to witnesse, with what patience I have endured a tedious restraint; which so long as I had any hopes that the sort of my suffering might conduce to the peace of my Kingdomes, or the hindring more effusion of blood, I did willingly undergoe: but now finding by too certain proofs, that this my continued patience would not only turn to my personall ruine, but likewise be of much more prejudice, than furtherance to the publick good; I thought I was bound as well by naturall as politicall obligations, to seek my safety, by retiring myself for some time, from the publique view both of my Friends and Enemies: And appeal to all indifferent men to judge, if I have not just cause to free my self from the hands of those who change their principles with their condition; and who are not ashamed openly to intend the destruction of the Nobility, taking away their negative voice; and with whom the Levellers doctrine is rather countenanced than punished: And for their intentions to my person their changing, and putting more strict Guards upon me, with the discharging most of all those Servants of mine, who formerly they were willingly admitted to wait upon me, doth sufficiently declare. Nor would I have this

tirement misinterpreted; for I shall earnestly and unceſſantly endeavour the ſettling of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, where ever I am or shall be: and that (as much as may be) without the effuſion of more Chriſtian blood; for which, how many times have I deſired, preſt to be heard, and yet no eare given to Me? And can any reaſonable man think, that according to the ordinary courſe of affairs) there *can be a ſettled Peace without it? Or that God will bleſſe thoſe, who refuſe to hear their own King? Surely no. Nay, I muſt further add, that* (beſides what concerns *myſelf*) *unleſſe all other chief intereſts have not only a hearing, but likewiſe juſt ſatisfaction given unto them,* (*to wit, the Preſbyterians, Independents, Army, thoſe who have adhered to me, and even the Scots*) *I ſay there cannot* (*I ſpeak not of Miracles, it being, in my opinion, a ſinfull preſumption, in ſuch caſes, to expect or truſt to them*) *be a ſafe or laſting Peace.*

Now as I cannot deny, but that my perſonal ſecurity is the urgent cauſe of this my retirement; ſo I take God to witneſſe, that the publick peace is no leſſe before my eyes: and I can finde no better way to expreſſe this my profeſſion (I know not what a wiſer may doe) than by deſiring and urging that all chief Intereſts may be heard, to the end each may have juſt ſatisfaction: As for example, the Army, (for the reſt, though neceſſary, yet I ſuppoſe are not difficult to content) ought (in my judgement) to enjoy the libertiy of their conſciences, have an Act of Oblivion or Indemnity (which ſhould extend to all the reſt of my Subjects) and that all their arrears ſhould be ſpeedily and duly paid; which I will undertake to do, ſo I may be heard, and ſhall be not hindred from uſing ſuch lawfull and honeſt means as I ſhall chooſe. To conclude, let me be heard with freedome, honour, and ſafety, and I ſhall inſtantly break

through this Cloud of retirement, and shew my self really to be *Pater Patriæ*.

Hampton Court, *Novemb.* 11. 164[illegible]

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, &c.

33.

His Majesties *Message of* Novemb. 17. 164[illegible]
For a personall Treaty; with His particular Concessions from the Isle of Wight.

C. R.

HIs Majesty is confident that before this time His two Houses of Parliament have received the Message which He left to bid me at *Hampton-Court*, the eleventh of this moneth, by which they will have understood, the reasons which enforced Him to go from thence, as likewise His constant endeavours for the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace, wheresoever He should be: And being now in a place where He conceives himself to be at much more freedome and security than formerly, He thinks it necessary (not only for making good of His own profession, but also for the speedy procuring of a peace, to the languishing and distressed Kingdoms) at this time to offer such grounds to his two Houses for that effect; which upon due examination of all Interests, may best conduce thereto.

And because Religion is the best and chief foundation of Peace, his Majesty will begin with that particular.

That for the abolishing Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. His Majesty clearly professeth that He cannot give his consent thereunto, but

relation as He is a Christian, and a King: for the first, He avows that he is satisfied in his judgement, that this Order was placed in the Church by the Apostles themselves; and ever since their time, hath continued in all Christian Churches throughout the world, untill this last century of years; and in this Church in all times of Change and Reformation, it hath been upheld by the wisedome of his Ancestors, as the great preserver of Doctrine, Discipline, and Order in the service of God. As a King at his Coronation, he hath not only taken a solemn Oath to maintain this order, but his Majesty and his Predecessors in their confirmation of the great Charter, have inseparably woven the right of the Church into the liberties of the rest of the Subjects: and yet He is willing it be provided that the particular Bishops perform the severall duties of their callings, both by their personall residence and frequent preachings in their Dioceses, as also that they exercise no act of jurisdiction, or ordination, without the consent of their Presbyters; And will consent, that their powers in all things be so limited, that they be not grievous to tender Consciences: Wherefore since his Majesty is willing to give ease to the consciences of others, He sees no reason why alone, and those of his judgement, should be forced to a violation of theirs. Nor can his Majesty consent to the alienation of Church lands, because it cannot be denyed to be a sin of the first Sacriledge; as also that it subverts the intentions of so many pious Donors, who have laid a heavy curse upon all such prophane violations which his Majesty is very unwilling to undergoe: And besides the matter of Conscience his Majesty believes it to be a prejudice to the publique good, many of his Subjects having the benefit of renuing Leases at much easier rates, than if those possessions were in the hands of private men; not omitting the discouragement which it will be to all learning and in-

dustry, when such eminent rewards shall be ta-
ken away, which now lye open to the Childr
of meanest persons.

Yet his Majesty considering the great pre-
sent distempers concerning Church-discipli
and that the Presbyterian Government is no
in practice, his Majesty to eschew confusi
as much as may be, and for the satisfaction o
His two Houses, is content that the said go
vernment be legally permitted to stand, in th
same condition it now is, for three years; pro
vided, that his Majesty and those of His ju
ment (or any other who cannot in Conscien
submit thereunto) be not obliged to comp
with the Presbyterial government, but ha
free practice of their own profession, witho
receiving any prejudice thereby; and that
free consultation and debate be had with th
Divines at *Westminster* (twenty of his Maj
sties nomination being added unto them) wh
by it may be determined by his Majesty and th
two Houses how the Church government aft
the said time shall be settled, (or sooner, if
ferences may be agreed) as is most agreeable t
the word of God; with full liberty to all th
who shall differ upon conscientious grou
from that settlement; alwayes provided th
nothing aforesaid be understood to tolera
those of the popish Profession. nor the exem
ting of any popish Recusant from the penal
of the Laws, or to tolerate the publique pro
sion of Atheism or Blasphemy, contrary to
doctrine of the Apostles, Nicene, and Athan
sian Creeds, they having been received by
had in reverence of all the Christian Chur
and more particularly by this of *England*, e
since the Reformation.

Next, the Militia, being that right, whi
inseparably and undoubtedly inherent in
Crown, by the Laws of this Nation, and
which former Parliaments, as likewise this,
acknowledged soto be; His Majesty c

so much wrong that trust which the Laws of God and this Land hath annexed to the Crown for the protection and security of His people, as to divest himself & Successors of the power of the Sword: Yet to give an infallible evidence of his desire to secure the performance of such agreements as shal be made in order to a Peace, his Majesty will consent to an Act of Parliament, that the whole power of the Militia both by Sea and Land, for and during his whole reign, shall be ordered and disposed by his two Houses of Parliament, or by such persons as they shall appoint, with powers limited for suppressing of forces within this Kingdome, to the disturbance of the publick peace, and against forraign invasion; and that they shall have power, during his said reign, to raise moneys for the purposes aforesaid; and that neither his Majesty that now is, or any other (by any authority derived only from him) shall execute any of the said powers during his Majesties said reign, but such as shall act by the consent and approbation of the two Houses of Parliament: Nevertheless his Majesty intends, that all Patents, Commissions, and other Acts concerning the Militia, be made and issued as formerly; and that after his Majesties reign, all the power of the Militia shall return entirely to the Crown, as it was in the times of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* of blessed memory.

After this head of the Militia, the consideration of the arrears due to the Army is not improper to follow for the payment whereof, for the ease of his people, his Majesty is willing to concurre in any thing that can be done without the violation of his conscience and honour. Wherefore if his two Houses shall assent to remit unto Him such benefit out of sequestrations from *Michaelmas* last, and of compositions, that shall be made before the concluding of the peace, and the arrears of

such as have been already made, the assist
of the Clergy, and the arrears of such rent
his own revenue as his two Houses shall
have received before the concluding of
peace, his Majesty will undertake within
space of eighteen moneths, the payment of
hundred thousand pounds for the satisfac
of the Army: And if those means shall
be sufficient, his Majesty intends to give
to the sale of Forrest Lands for that pur
this being the publique debt, which in his
jesties judgement is first to be satisfied;
for other publique debts already contra
upon Church Lands or any other Ingagem
his Majesty will give His consent to such
or Acts for raising of monies for p
ment thereof, as both Houses shall here
agree upon, so as they be equally laid, wh
by His people (already too heavily burth
by these late distempers) may have no
pressures upon them than this absolute nec
requires: And for the further securing
fears, his Majesty will consent, that an A
Parliament be passed for the disposing
great Offices of State, and naming of p
Counsellors for the whole term of his
by the two Houses of Parliament, their
cents and Commissions being taken from
Majesty, and after to return to the Crow
is expresst in the article of the Militia. For
Court of Wards and Liveries his Majest
ry well knows the consequence of taking
away by turning of all tenures into c
Socage, as well in point of revenue
Crown, as in the protection of many
Subjects being Infants. Nevertheless
continuance thereof seem grievous to
jects, rather than He will fail on his part
ving satisfaction, He will consent to
for taking it away so as a full reco
settled upon his Majesty and his Succes
perpetuity, and that the arrears now

ſerved unto Him towards the payment of the arrears of the Army.

And that the memory of theſe late diſtractions may be wholly wiped away, his Majeſty will conſent to an Act of Parliament for the ſuppreſſing and making null of all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations againſt both or either houſe of Parliament, and of all Indictments & other proceedings againſt any perſons for adhering unto them: And his Majeſty propoſeth (as the beſt expedient to take away all ſeeds of future differences) that there be an Act of oblivion to extend to all his Subjects.

As for *Ireland*, the ceſſation there is long ſince determined, but for the future (all other things being fully agreed) his Majeſty will give full ſatisfaction to His Houſes concerning that Kingdome.

And although his Majeſty cannot conſent in honour and juſtice to avoid all His own Grants and Acts paſt under his great Seal ſince the two and twentieth of *May* 1642. or to the confirming of all the Acts and Grants paſſed under that made by the two Houſes, yet his Majeſty is confident that upon peruſall of particulars, He ſhall give full ſatisfaction to his two Houſes, to what may be reſonably deſired in that particular.

And now his Majeſty conceives that by theſe His offers (which He is ready to make good upon the ſettlement of a Peace) He hath clearly manifeſted his intentions to give full ſecurity and ſatisfaction to all Intereſts, for what can juſtly be deſired in order to the future happineſſe of his people. And for the perfecting of theſe Conceſſions, as alſo for ſuch other things, as may be propoſed by the two Houſes, and for ſuch juſt and reaſonable demands as his Majeſty ſhall finde neceſſary to propoſe on his part, He earneſtly deſires a perſonall Treaty at *London* with his two Houſes, in Honour, Freedome and Safety, it being in His judgement the moſt

proper, and indeed only means to a firm and setled peace, and impossible without it to reconcile former, or avoid future misunderstandings.

All these things being by Treaty perfected, his Majesty believes his two Houses will think it reasonable, that the proposals of the Army concerning the Succession of Parliaments, and their due elections, should be taken into consideration.

As for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majesty will very readily apply Himself to give all reasonable satisfaction, when the desires of the two Houses of Parliament on their behalf, or of the Commissioners of that Kingdome, or of both joyned together, shall be made known unto Him.

C. R.

From the Isle of Wight, Novemb. 17. 1647.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, *and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

34.

His Majesties Message of Decemb. 6. 1647. *in Answer to His last from* Carisbrook-*Castle.*

HAd his Majesty thought it possible that his two Houses could not be employed in things of greater concernment than the pre-

of this miserable distracted Kingdome, He would have expected with more patience, their leisure in acknowledging the receit of his Message of the 15 of *November* last. But since there is not in nature, any consideration preceding to that of peace; his Majesties constant tenderness of the welfare of his Subjects, hath such a prevailence with Him, that he cannot forbear the vehement prosecution of a personal Treaty, which is, only, so much the more desired by his Majesty, as it is superiour to all other means of peace. And truly, when his Majesty considers the several complaints he daily hears from all parts of this Kingdom, that Trade is so decayed, all Commodities so dear, and Taxes so unsupportable, that even naturall subsistance will suddenly fail. His Majesty (to perform the trust reposed in Him) must use his uttermost endeavours for peace, though He were to have no share in the benefit of it. And hath not his Majesty done his part for it, by divesting himself of so much power and authority, as by his last Message he hath promised to doe, upon the concluding of the whole Peace? And hath he met with that acknowledgement from his two Houses, which this great grace and favour justly deserves? Surely the blame of this great retarding of peace must fall somewhere else, than on his Majesty.

To conclude, If ye will but consider in how little time this necessary good work will be done, if you, the two Houses, will wait on his Majesty with the same resolutions for peace, as He will meet you, He no way doubts, but that ye will willingly agree to this his Majesties earnest desire of a personall Treaty, and speedily desire His presence amongst you. Where all things agreed on, being digested into Acts (till when, it is most unreasonable for his Majesty, or his two Houses to desire, such of other the least concession, this King-

some may at last enjoy the blessing of a long-wisht-for Peace.

Carisbrook-Castle, Decemb. 6. 1647.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *&c.*

35.

His Majesties Message and Answer to the [illegible], and the Propositions presented to him at Carisbrook-Castle, *before the Votes of No* Addresse, Dec. 28. 1647.

C. R.

THe necessity of complying with all engaged Interests in these great distempers for a perfect settlement of peace, His Majesty findes to be none of the least difficulties he hath met with since the time of his afflictions; Which is too visible, when at the same time, that the two Houses of the English Parliament doe present to his Majesty several Bils and Propositions for His consent, the Commissioners for *Scotland* doe openly protest against them: So that were there nothing in the case, but the consideration of that difference, his Majesty cannot imagine how to give such an answer to what is now proposed, as thereby to promise himself his great end, *A perfect Peace*. And when his Majesty further considers, how impossible it is (in the condition he now stands to fulfill the desires of the two Houses: since the only ancient and known wayes of passing Laws are either by his Majesties personall assent in the House of Peers, or by Commission under his great Seal of *England*: He cannot but wonder at such failings in the manner of addresse

addreſſe, which is now made unto him. Unleſſe his two Houſes intend, that his Majeſty ſhal allow of a great Seal made without his authority, before there be any conſideration had thereupon in a Treaty, which, as it may hereafter hazard the ſecurity it ſelf, ſo for the preſent, it ſeems very unreaſonable to his Majeſty.

And though his Majeſty is willing to believe, that the intention of very many in both Houſes, in ſending theſe Bils before a Treaty, was only to obtain a truſt from Him and not to take any advantage by paſsing them to force other things from him, which are either againſt his Conſcience or Honour: yet his Majeſty believes it clear to all underſtandings, that theſe Bils contain (as they are now penned) not only the deveſting himſelf of all Sovereignty, and that without poſſibility of recovering it, either to him or his Succeſſors, (except by repeal of thoſe Bils) but alſo the making His Conceſsions guilty of the greateſt preſſures that can be made upon the Subject; as in other particulars, ſo by giving an arbitrary and unlimited power to the two Houſes for ever, to raiſe and levie Forces, for Land or Sea ſervice, of what perſons (without diſtinction or quality) and to what numbers they pleaſe. And likewiſe for the payment of them, to levie what monies, in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch wayes and means (and conſequently upon the eſtates of whatſoever perſons) they ſhall think fit and appoint. Which is utterly inconſiſtent with the liberty and property of the Subject and his Majeſties truſt in protecting them: So that if the Major part of both Houſes ſhall think it neceſſary to put the reſt of the Propoſitions into Bils, his Majeſty leaves all the World to judge how unſafe it would be for Him to conſent thereunto; and how not, what a ſtrange condition after the paſſing of theſe four Bils) his Majeſty and all his Subjects would be caſt into. And here his Majeſty

jesty thinks it not unfit, to wish His two Houses to consider well the manner of their proceeding: That when his Majesty desires a personal Treaty with them for the settling of a Peace; they in answer, propose the very Subject matter of the most essential part thereof to be first granted, a thing which will be hardly credible to posterity: Wherefore his Majesty declares, That neither the desire of being freed from this tedious and irksome condition of life his Majesty hath so long suffered, nor the apprehension of what may befall him, in case his two Houses shall not afford Him a personal Treaty, shall make him change his resolution, of not consenting to any Act, till the whole Peace be concluded: Yet then he intends not only to give just and reasonable satisfaction in the particulars presented to him; but also to make good all other concessions mentioned in His Message of the 16. of *November* last; which he thought would have produced better effects, than what he findes in the Bills and Propositions now presented unto him.

And yet his Majesty cannot give over, but now again earnestly presseth for a personal Treaty (so passionately is he affected with the advantages which peace will bring to his Majesty and all his Subjects) of which he will not at all dispair, (there being no other visible way to obtain a well-grounded Peace.) However his Majesty is very much at ease within himself, for having fulfilled the offices both of a Christian and of a King; and will patiently wait the good pleasure of Almighty God, to incline the hearts of His two Houses to consider their King, and to compassionate their fellow Subjects miseries.

Given at Carisbrook-Castle *in the Ile of* Wight, *Decemb.* 28. 1647.

To the Speaker of the Lords *House pro tempore.*

36.

His Majesties *Message of* August 10. 1648. *with His Answer to the Votes, for a Treaty at the* Isle *of* Wight.

From Carisbrooke-Castle.

C. R.

IF the peace of My Dominions were not much dearer to Me, than any particular interest whatsoever; I had too much reason to take notice of the severall Votes which passed against Me, and the sad condition I have been in now above these seven moneths. But since you, My two Houses of Parliament, have opened (as it seems to Me) a fair beginning to a happy peace, I shall heartily apply My self thereunto; and to that end, I will as cleerly and shortly as I may, set you down those things which I conceive necessary to this blessed work; so that We together may remove all impediments, that may hinder a happy conclusion of this Treaty, which with all cheerfulnesse I doe embrace.

And to this wished end, your selves have laid most excellent grounds: for what can I reasonably expect more, than to treat with Honour, Freedome, and Safety, upon such Propositions as you have or shall present unto Me, and such as I shall make to you? But withall remember, that it is the definition, not names of things which make them rightly known: And that without means to perform, no Proposition can take effect: And truly My present condition is such, that I can no more treat, than a blinde man judge of colours; or one run a race who hath both his feet

feet fast tied together: Wherefore My first necessary demand is,

That you will recall all such Votes and Orders, by which people are frighted from comming, writing, or speaking freely to Me.

Next, that such men of all professions, whom I shall send for, as of necessary use to Me in this Treaty, may be admitted to wait upon Me. In a word, that I may be in the same state of freedome I was in, when I was last at *Hampton-Court*. And indeed lesse cannot in any reasonable measure make good those offers which you have made Me by your Votes, for how can I treat with Honour, so long as people are terrified with Votes and Orders against comming to speak, or write to Me? And am I honourably treated, so long as there is none about Me (except a Barber who came now with the Commissioners) that ever I named to wait upon Me, Or with Freedome, (untill I may call such unto Me of whose services I shall have use in so great and difficult a work.) And for Safety (I speak not of my Person, having no apprehension on that way) how can I judge to make a safe and well grounded peace, untill I may know (without disguise) the true present state of all My Dominions, and particularly of all those whose Interests are necessarily concerned in the peace of these Kingdomes? Which leads Me naturally to the last necessary demand I shall make for the bringing of this Treaty to a happy end, which is,

That you alone, or you and I joyntly, do invite the *Scots* to send some persons authorized by them to treat upon such propositions, as they shall make; for certainly the publick and necessary Interesse they have in this great settlement, is so clearly plain to all the World, that I believe no body will deny the necessity of their concurrence in

this Treaty, in Order to a durable peace. Wherefore I will only say, that as I am King of both Nations; so I will yeeld to none in either Kingdome, for being truly and zealously affected for the good and honour of both: my resolution being never to be partiall for either, to the prejudice of the other.

Now as to the place (because I conceive it to be rather a circumstantiall than reall part of this Treaty. I shall not much insist upon it) I name *Newport* in this Isle, yet the fervent Zeal I have that a speedy end be put to these unhappy distractions, doth force Me earnestly to desire you to consider what a great losse of time it will be to treat so far from the body of My two Houses, when every small debate (of which doubtlesse there will be many) must be transmitted to *Westminster* before it be concluded: And really I think (though to some it may seem a Paradox) that peoples mindes will be much more apt to settle, seeing me treat in or neer *London*, than in this Isle; because so long as I am here, it will never be believed by many, that I am really so free, as before this Treaty begin I expect to be: And so I leave and recommend this point to your serious consideration: And thus I have not only fully accepted of the Treaty, which you have proposed to Me by your Votes of the third of this moneth, but also given it all the furtherance that lies in Me, by demanding the necessary means, for the effectuall performance thereof: All which are so necessarily implyed by, though not particularly mentioned in your Votes, as I can no wayes doubt of your ready compliance with Me herein: I have now no more to say, but to conjure you, by all that is dear to Christians, honest Men or good Patriots, that ye will use all the expedition possible to begin this happy work, by hasting down your Commissioners fully authorized and well instructed

cted, and by enabling Me (as I have shewed you) to treat; praying the God of peace to bless our endeavours, that all My Dominions may speedily enjoy a safe and well grounded peace.

Charls R.

For the Speaker of the Lords House pro tempore, to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of England at Westminster.

37.

His Majesties Message of Aug. 28. 1648. to some of his Councell, and others, to attend Him at the Treaty at the Isle of Wight. From Catisbrook-Castle.

MY Lord, and Mr. Speaker, I have received your Letter of the 25. of this Moneth, with the Votes that you sent Me, which though they are not so full as I could have wished for the perfecting of a Treaty, yet because I conceive by what you have done, that I am in some measure fit to begin one such my unceasant and earnest desire to give a peace to these my now distracted Kingdoms, as (except the Treaty;) and therefore desire that such five Lords, and ten Commons, as my two Houses shall appoint, be speedily sent, fully authorized and instructed to treat with Me not doubting, but what is now wanting will at Our meeting upon debate be fully supplyed, not only to the furtherance of the Treaty, but also of the consummating of a safe and well grounded peace.

So I rest, your good Friend
Charls

Here inclosed is a List of the names of such persons as I desire.

Gentlemen of My Bed-chamber, Duke Richmond, Marquis Hartford, Earl Lindsey, Earl Southampton. *Grooms of My Bed-chamber*, George Kirk, James Levistон, Henry Murry, Jo Ashburnham, William Leg, Thomas Davis, *Barber*. *Pages of My back Stairs*, Hugh Hin, Humphry Rogers, William Levet, Rives *Yeoman of My Robes*, *Quarries*, *with four or five of My Footmen as they finde time to wait*, Sir Edward Sydenham, Robert Terwit. Jo. Housden, Mistresse Wheeler, *Landresse, with such Maids as she shall choose*. *Parsons*, *A Groom of the presence*, Sir Fulke Greveil, Captain Titus. Captain Burtowes, Mr. Cresset, Hausted, Abraham Doue, Firebrasse, *To wait as they did, or I shall appoint them*. Bishop of London, Bishop of Sarum, Doctor Sheldon, Doctor Hammond, Doctor Oldsworth, Doctor Sanderson, Doctor Turner, Doctor Heywood, *Lawyers*. Sir Thomas Gardner, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Robert Holborne, Mr. Jes. Palmer, Mr. Thomas Cooke, Mr. James Vaughan. *Clerks and Writers*. Sir Edward Walker, Mr. Philip Warwick, Nicholas Oudart, Samuel Whittaker. *To make ready the house for Treaty*, Peter Newton, Clem. Kinersley.

I desire in order to one of your Votes that you would send Me a free passe for *Parsons*, one of the Grooms of My presence Chamber to goe into *Scotland*, that you would immediately send him to Me, to receive the dispatch thither.

To the Earl of Manchester, *Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, and* William Lentall, *Speaker of the House of Commons.*

His

38.

His Majesties *Message concerning the time of the Treaty, and for two Doctors of the Civill Law to attend His* Majesty, Sep. 7. 1648. Carisbrook-Castle.

My Lord, and Master Speaker.

I Have received your Letter of the second of this moneth, containing the names of those who are to treat with Me, and though they doe not come at the time appointed, I shall not wonder at first, judging it too short in respect of My two Houses, not of My self: so that I did not imagine it could be kept (as I then commanded Sir *Peter Killegrew*, to tell you by word of mouth) and therefore it shall be farr from Me to take exception for their having elapsed the appointed time; for God forbid that either My two Houses or I should carp at circumstances, to give the least impediment to this Treaty, much lesse to hinder the happy finishing of it: I say this the rather, because I know not how it is possible (in this I shall wish to be deceived) that in fourty dayes Treaty, the many distractions of these Kingdomes can be settled; and if so, it were more then strange, that time enough should not be given for the perfecting of this most great and good work; which as I will not believe can be stuck on by the two Houses, so I am sure it shall never be, by

Your good Friend,

Carisbrook 7. Sep. 1648.

Charles R.

I think fit to tell you, because I believe

this Treaty there will be need of Civil Lawyers, I have sent for my Advocate *Rives*, and Dr. *Duck*.

For the Lord Humsdon *Speaker of the House of Peers* pro tempore, *and* William Lenthall *Speaker of the House of Commons.*

39.

His Majesties *Message for four Bishops and two Doctors of Divinity to attend his* Majesty, Novemb. 2. 1648.

Newport.

The names of the Bishops and Doctors desired by his Majesty *to be sent to Him.* November 2. 1648 *enclosed in a Letter from one of the Commissioners for the Parliament.*

C. R.

THe Bishop of *Armath*, the Bishop of *Exeter*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, Doctor *Fearne*, Doctor *Marley*.

40.

His Majesties *Message of* September. 29. 1648. *containing his Concessions.*

Newport.

HIs Majesty did use many earnest endeavours for a personall Treaty which he hoped might have been obtained at *Westminster*, between Him and his two Houses of Parliament

Parliament immediately; yet they having made choice of this way by you their Commissioners, his Majesty did gladly and chearfully accept thereof in this place, as a fit means to begin a Treaty for a peace, which might put an end to His own sad condition, and the miseries of his Kingdome: For an entrance whereunto his Majesty hath already expressed His consent to the first Proposition: But finding you are limited by Instructions which you have no warrant to communicate unto Him: And having cause by your paper of the 20 of this present to believe, that you have no power to consent or alter any thing, though He shall give you such reasons as may satisfie you so to do, without transmitting the papers to the two Houses at a farre distance, where his Majesties reasons, expressions, and offers upon debate cannot be fully represented, and from whom their answers cannot be returned without much waste of the time allotted for the Treaty here: And having lately received another paper concerning the Church, containing in it self many particulars of great importance, and referring to divers Ordinances, Articles of Religion, and other things (11 or 12 in number) of great length, and some of them very new, and never before presented to his Majesty: The due consideration whereof will take up much time, and require his Majesties presence with his two Houses before a full resolution can well be had in matters of so high consequence; to the end therefore that the good work now in hand may (by Gods blessing) proceed more speedily, and effectually to an happy conclusion; and that his two Houses of Parliament may at present have further security, and an earnest of future satisfaction: His Majesty upon consideration had of yours, makes these propositions following.

Concerning

Concerning the Church.

HIs Majesty will consent that the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, be confirmed for three years by Act of Parliament.

And will by Act of Parliament confirm for three years the Directory for the publick worship of God in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

And will likewise confirm for three yeares by Act of Parliament the form of Church Government which yee have presented to him, to be used for the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*; provided, that his Majesty, and those of his judgement, or any others who cannot in conscience submit thereunto, be not in the mean time obliged to comply with the same government or form of worship, but have free practise of their own profession. And that a free consultation and debate be had with the Assembly of Divines of *Westminster* in the mean time, (two of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majesty and his two houses of Parliament how the said Church Government and form of publick worship after the said time may be settled, or sooner differences may be agreed. And how also reformation of Religion may be settled within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominion of *Wales*. And the Articles of Christian Religion now delivered to Him, may in like manner be then considered of and determined, and care taken for the ease of tender consciences.

And concerning the Bishops Lands and Revenues, his Majesty considering, that during these troublesome times divers of his Subjects have made contracts and purchases, and divers have disbursed great summes of monies upon

security

security and engagement of those Lands His Majesty for their satisfaction will consent to an Act or Acts of Parliament whereby Leases of lives or for years (at their choice) not exceeding 99 years, shall be made of the Lands towards the satisfaction of the said Purchasers, Contractors, and others to whom they are engaged, at the old Rents, or some other moderate Rent, whereby they may receive satisfaction.

And in case such Lease shall not satisfie, his Majesty will propound and consent to some other way, for their further satisfaction.

Provided that the propriety and inheritance of those Lands may still remain and continue to the Church and Church-men respectively according to the pious intentions of the Donors and Founders thereof, and the rent that shall be reserved to be for their maintenance.

His Majesty will give his Royal assent for the better observation of the Lords day, for suppressing of Innovations in Churches and Chappels, in and about the worship of God and for the better advancement of the preaching of Gods holy word in all parts of this Kingdome; and to an Act against enjoying pluralities of Benefices by spiritual persons and Nonresidency and to an Act for regulating and reforming both Universities, and the Colledges of *Westminster*, *Winchester*, and *Eaton*.

His Majesty will consent to an Act for the better discovery and speedy conviction of Popish Recusants, as is desired in your Propositions; And also to an Act for the education of the Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion.

As also to an Act for the true levying of the penalties against Papists, to be levyed and disposed in such manner as both Houses shall agree on, and as is proposed on his Majesties behalf.

An

And also to an Act to prevent the practises
Papists against the State; and for putting
e Laws in execution; and for a stricter
ause so preventing hearing and saying of Masse,
But, as to the Covenant, his Majesty is
t yet therein satisfied, that he can either
ne or swear it, or consent to impose it on
e Consciences of others; nor doth conceive
proper or useful at this time to be insisted

Touching the Millitia, his Majesty con-
ives that your Proposition demands a fare
ger power over the persons and estates of
s Subjects, than hath ever hitherto been
anted by the Laws and Statutes of this
alm, yet considering the present distracti-
n require more, and trusting in His two
oses of Parliament that they will make no
ther use of the power therein mentioned,
er the present distemper settled, then shall
agreable to the legal exercise thereof in
es past, or just necessity shall require,
s Majesty will consent to an Act of Parlia-
ent:

That the Lords and Commons in the Par-
ment of *England* now assembled, or hereaf-
to be assembled, or such as they shall ap-
nt, during the space of ten yeares shall
n train, and discipline, or cause to be ar-
d, trained, or disciplined, all the Forces of
Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, and
minion of *Wales*, the Isles of *Gerneſey* and
ſey, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*
ady raised, both for Sea and Land service;
shall from time to time, during the space
en years, raise, levie, arm, train and disci-
e, or cause to be raised levyed, armed
ned and disciplined any other Forces for
nd and Sea service in the Kingdomes, Do-
ions, and places aforesaid, as in their judg-
es they shall from time to time, during
said space of ten yeares, think fit to ap-
point,

point, and that neither the King, his H
or Successors, or any other but such as
act by the authority, or approbation of
said Lords and Commons, shall, during
said space of ten years, exercise any of
powers aforesaid.

That monies be raised and levied for
maintenance and use of the said Forces
Land service, and of the Navie and Forces
Sea service, in such sort, and by such ways
and means as the said Lords and Comm
shall from time to time, during the said
of ten years, think fit and appoint, and
otherwise.

That all the said Forces both for Land
Sea service so raised or levied, or to be ra
or levyed; and also the Admiralty and Na
shall from time to time, during the said sp
of ten years, be imployed, managed, and
dered and disposed by the Lords and Co
mons in such sort, and by such wayes
means as they shall think fit and appoint,
not otherwise.

And the said Lords and Commons or s
as they shall appoint, during the said space
ten years, shall have power,

TO suppresse all Forces raised or to
raised without authority and consent
the said Lords and Commons, to the dis
bance of the publick Peace of the Kingdo
of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wa*
the Isles of *Gernesey* and *Gersey* and the To
of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

2. To suppresse any foraign Forces
shall invade, or endeavour to invade the K
doms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion
Wales, the Isles *Gernesey* and *Gersey*, and
Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or any
them.

And after the expiration of the said
years, neither the King, his Heirs or Su
sors, or any person or persons by colour
pro

pretence of any commission, power, deputation, or authority to be derived from the King His Heirs or Successors, or any of them, shall without the consent of the said Lords and Commons, raise, arm, train, discipline imploy, order, manage, disband or dispose any the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Isles of *Gernesey* and *Gersey*, and the Town of Berwick upon *Tweed*; nor exercise any of the said powers or authorities herein before mentioned and expressed to be, during the space of ten years in the said Lords and Commons: nor doe any Act, or any thing concerning the execution of the said powers or authorities, or any of them, without the consent of the said Lords and Commons first had and obtained.

And with the same proviso's for saving the ordinary legal power of Officers of justice, not being Military Officers, as is set down in your Propositions.

And with a Declaration, That if any persons shall be gathered and assembled together in a warlike manner, or otherwise, to the number of forty persons, and shall not forthwith disperse themselves, being required thereto by the said Lords and Commons, or command from them, or any by them, especially authorized for that purpose; then such person or persons not so dispersing themselves, shall be guilty, and incur the pains of high Treason, being first declared guilty of such offence, by the said Lords and Commons any Commission under the great Seal, or other Warrant to the contrary notwithstanding. And he or they that shall so offend herein, to be uncapable of any pardon from his Majesty, His Heirs, or Successors.

And likewise that it be provided that the City of *London* shall have and enjoy all their rights, liberties, &c. in raising and imploying the Forces of that City, in such sort as is mentioned in the said Proposition.

With these Proviso's following to be inser[illegible] the said Act.

1. THat none be compelled to serve in [illegible] War against their wils, but in [illegible] of comming in of strange enemies into [illegible] Kingdome.

And that the powers above mentioned, [illegible] concerning the Land Forces, other than [illegible] keeping up and maintenance of Forts and [illegible] risons, and the keeping up, maintaining [illegible] pay of this present Army, so long as it shall [illegible] thought fit by both Houses of Parliament, [illegible] exercised to no other purposes then for the [illegible] pressing of Forces raised or to be raised, [illegible] out authority and consent of the said Lo[illegible] and Commons, as aforesaid, or for suppre[illegible] of any foraign Forces which shall invade, [illegible] endeavour to invade the Kingdomes, Do[illegible] ons, or places aforesaid.

And that the monies be raised by general [illegible] equal Taxations, saving that Tonnage [illegible] ponndage, and such Imposts as have been [illegible] plyed to the Navie, be raised as hath been [illegible] tal.

And that all Patents, Commissions, and [illegible] ther Acts concerning the premisses, be made [illegible] acted in his Majesties name by Warrant, [illegible] fied by the Lords and Commons, or such [illegible] as they shall authorise for that purpose.

If it shall be more satisfactory to his two H[illegible] to have the Militia, and powers thereu[illegible] pending, during the whole time of his Ma[illegible] reign, rather than for the space of ten [illegible] his Majesty gives them the election.

TOuching *Ireland*, his Majesty hav[illegible] the two preceding Propositions [illegible] his consent concerning the Church, and [illegible] litia there in all things, as in *England*: [illegible]

all other matters relating to the Kingdom, after advice with his two Houses, He will leave it to their determination, and give his consent accordingly, as is herein hereafter expressed.

Touching publick debts, his Majesty will give his consent to such an Act, for raising of moneys by general and equal Taxations, for the payment and satisfying the Arrears of the Army, publick debts and engagements of the Kingdom, as shall be agreed on by both Houses of Parliament, and shall be audited and ascertained by them, or such persons as they shall appoint, within the space of twelve moneths, after the passing of an Act for the same.

His Majesty will consent to an Act, that, during the said space of ten years, the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, Commissioners of the great Seal, or Treasury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Master of the Rolls, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer of *England*, be nominated by both Houses of the Parliament of *England* to continue *quam diu se bene gesserint* : And in the intervals of Parliament, by such others as they shall authorize for that purpose.

His Majesty will consent that the Militia of the City of *London* and Liberties thereof, during the space of ten years, may be in the ordering and government of the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Commons, in the Common-Council assembled, or such as they shall from time to time appoint, (whereof the Lord Major and Sheriffs for the time being to be three) to be employed and directed from time to time, during the said space of ten years, in such manner as shall be agreed upon, and appointed by both Houses of Parliament : And that no Citizen of the City of *London*, nor any of the Citizens of the said City shall be drawn forth, or compelled to goe out of the said City : to

Liberties thereof, for Military service, with
their own free consent.

That an Act be passed for granting a
confirming the Charters, Customes, Liber
ties, and Franchises of the City of Lo
notwithstanding any *Non-user*, *Mis-user*,
Abuser.

And that during the said ten yeers, t
Tower of *London* may be in the governm
of the City of *London*, and the chief Offic
and Governour from time to time during t
said space to be nominated and removed
by the Common-Councell, as are desired
your propositions.

His Majesty having thus farre expres
his consent for the present satisfaction a
security of His two Houses of Parlia
and those that have adhered unto them, to
ing your four first propositions, and o
the particulars before specified: As to
the rest of your propositions delivered
him at *Hampton-Court* (not referring to t
heads) and to that of the Court of W
since delivered; as also to the rem
propositions concerning *Ireland*; His Ma
desires only when he shall come to *West*
ster, Personally to advise with His
Houses, and to deliver his opinion, and
reasons of it; which being done, He
leave the whole matter of those rem
propositions to the determination of Hi
Houses, which shall prevail with Him
His consent accordingly.

And His Majesty doth (for His own
ticular) only propose that He may have l
ty to repair forthwith to *Westminster*, a
restored to a condition of absolute free
and safety, (a thing which He shall n
deny to any of His Subjects) and t
possession of His Lands and Revenues;
that an Act of Oblivion, and Indempn
passe, to extend to all persons, for al

ters relating to the late unhappy differences: which being agreed by Hi two Houſes of Parliament, His Majeſty will be ready to make theſe His Conceſsions binding, by giving them the force of Laws by His Royall aſſent.

I.

His Majeſties *Declaration to all His people* Jan. 18. 1647. *from* Carisbrook-Caſtle, *after the Votes of* No Addreſſe.

AM I thus laid aſide, and muſt I not ſpeak for My ſelf? No! I will ſpeak, and that to all my people, (which I would have rather done, by the way of My two Houſes of Parliament, but that there is a publick order, neither to make addreſſes to, or receive Meſſages from Me,) and who but you can be judge of the differences betwixt Me, and My two Houſes? I know none elſe; for I am ſure, you it is who will injoy the happineſſe, or feel the miſery, of good or ill Government; and we all pretend who ſhould be faſteſt to ſerve you; without having a regard (at leaſt in the firſt place) to particular intereſts: And therefore I deſire you to conſider the ſtate I am, and have been in, this long time, and whether My actions have more tended to the publick, or My own particular good; for whoſoever will look upon Me merely as I am Man, without that liberty which the meaneſt of My Subjects enjoyes, of going whither, and converſing with whom he will; As a Husband and Father, without the comfort of My Wife and Children; or laſtly, as a King, without the leaſt ſhew of Authority or power, to protect My diſtreſſed Subjects; muſt conclude Me, not only void of all naturall Affection, but alſo to want

common understanding; if I should not most cheerfully embrace the readiest way, to the settlement of these distracted Kingdomes: As also on the other side, doe but consider the form and draught of the Bils lately presented unto Me, and as they are the conditions of a Treaty, ye will conclude, that the same spirit which hath still been able to frustrate all my sincere and constant endeavours for peace, hath had a powerfull influence on this Message; for though I was ready to grant the substance, and comply with what they seem to desire; yet as they had framed it, I could not agree thereunto without deeply wounding my conscience and honour, and betraying the trust reposed in Me, by abandoning my people to the Arbitrary and unlimitted power of the two Houses for ever, for the levying and maintaining of Land or Sea Forces, without distinction of quality, or limitation for mony taxes: And if I could have passed them in terms; how unheard of a condition were it for a Treaty to grant before hand the most considerable part of the Subject matter? How ineffectual were that debate like to prove, wherein the most potent party had nothing of moment left to ask, and the other nothing more to give? So consequently, how hopelesse of mutuall compliance? Without which a settlement is impossible: Besides, if after my concession the two Houses should insist on those things from which I cannot depart; how desperate would the condition of these Kingdoms be, when the most proper and approved remedy should become ineffectuall? Being therefore fully resolved that I could neither in conscience, honour, or prudence passe the four Bils, I only endeavour'd to make the Reasons and Justice of my Denyall appear to all the World, as they doe to me, intending to give as little dis-satisfaction

the two Houſes of Parliament, (without be-
raying my own cauſe) as the matter would
bear: I was deſirous to give my anſwer, of
the 28. of *December* laſt, to the Commiſſi-
oners ſealed, (as I had done others hereto-
fore, and ſometimes at the deſire of the Com-
miſsioners) chiefly, becauſe when my Meſſages
or Anſwers were publickly known, before
they were read in the Houſes, prejudiciall
interpretations were forced on them, much
differing, and ſometimes contrary to my
meaning. For example, my Anſwer from
Hampton-Court, was accuſed of dividing the
two Nations, becauſe I promiſed to give ſa-
tisfaction to the *Scots* in all things concern-
ing that Kingdome: And this laſt ſuffers in
a contrary ſenſe, by making me intend to
intereſt *Scotland* in the Laws of this King-
dome, (then which nothing was, nor is, fur-
ther from my thoughts) becauſe I took no-
tice oft he Scots Commisioners proteſting
againſt the Bils and propoſitions, as contrary
to the intereſts and engagements of the two
Kingdomes. Indeed, if I had not mentioned
their diſſent: an Objection, not without
ſome probability, might have been made a-
gainſt me, both in reſpect the Scots are much
concern'd in the Bill for the Militia, and in
verall other propoſitions; and my ſilence
might, with ſome juſtice, have ſeemed to ap-
prove of it: But the Commiſsioners refuſing
to receive my anſwer ſealed, I (upon the en-
gagement of their, and the Governours ho-
nour, that no other uſe ſhould be made, or
notice taken of it, than as if it had not been
given) read and delivered it openly unto them;
Whereupon, what hath ſince paſſed, either
by the Governour, in diſcharging moſt of my
Servants, redoubling the Guards, and re-
ſtoring me of my former liberty, (and all
this, as himſelf confeſt, meerly out of his
own diſlike of my anſwer, notwithſtanding

his before said engagement) or afterwards, by the two Houses, (as the Governour affirms) in confining me within the circuit of this Castle, I appeal to God and the World, whether my said answer deserved the reply of such proceedings: besides the unlawfulness for Subjects to imprison their King: That by the permission of Almighty God, I am reduced to this sad condition, as I no way repine, so I am not without hope, but that the same God, will in due time, convert these afflictions into my advantage: in the mean time I am confident to bear these crosses with patience and equality of minde: but by what means or occasion I am come to this Relapse in my affairs, I am utterly to seek, especially when I consider, that I have sacrificed to my two Houses of Parliament, for the Peace of the Kingdome, all but what is much more dear to me than my Life. My Conscience and Honour, desiring nothing more than to perform it, in the most proper and naturall way, A Personall Treaty. But that which makes me most at a losse is, the remembring my signall complyance with the Army and their interests; and of what importance my compliance was to them, and their often repeated Professions and Ingagements, for my just Rights, in generall, at *Newmarket* and *St. Albans*; and their particular explanation of those generalls, by their Voted and Revoted Propositis; which I had Reason to understand should be the uttermost extremity would be expected from me, and that in some things therein, I should be exempted (herein applauding to the Consciences of some of the chiefest Officers in the Army, if what I have said be not punctually true) and how I have failed of their expectations, or my professions to them; I challenge them and the whole World to produce the least colour of Reason. And now I would know, what is

that is desired: Is it Peace? I have shewed the way (being both willing, and desirous to perform my part in it) which is a just compliance with all chief interests: Is it Plenty and Happinesse? They are the inseparable effects of peace: Is it Security? I, who wish that all men would forgive and forget like Me, have offered the Militia for my time: Is it Liberty of Conscience? He who wants it, is most ready to give it: Is it the right Administration of Justice? Officers of trust are committed to the choice of my two Houses of Parliament: Is it frequent Parliaments? I have legally, fully concurred therewith: Is it the Arrears of the Army? Upon a settlement, they will certainly be payed with much ease, but before there will be found much difficulty if not impossibility in it.

Thus all the World cannot but see my real and unwearied endeavours for peace, the which (by the Grace of God) I shall never repent me of nor ever be slackened in, notwithstanding my past, present or future sufferings; but if I may not be heard, let every one judge, who it is that obstructs the good I would or might doe: What is it that men are afraid to hear from me? It cannot be Treason, (at least, none will declare themselves so unreasonable, as to confesse it) and it can little be impertinent or unreasonable Discourses; for thereby peradventure I might have justifie this my Restraint, than the Authors themselves can doe; so that, of all wonders, yet this is the greatest to me: but it may be easily gathered how these men intend to govern, who have used me thus: And if it be my hard Fate to fall together with the Liberty of this Kingdome, I shall not blush for it, but much lament the future miseries of my People the which I shall still pray to God to avert; what ever becomes of Me.

C. R.

2

His Majesties *Declaration concerning the Treaty and His dislike of the Armies proceedings, delivered by His* Majesty *to one of His Servants, at His departure from the* Isle of Wight, *commanded to be published for satisfaction of all His Subjects.* Anno 1648.

WHen large pretences prove but the shadows of weak performances, then the greatest labours produce the smallest effects; and when a period is put to a work of great concernment, all mens ears doe (as it were) hunger till they are satisfied in their expectations. Hath not this distracted Nation groaned a long time under the burden of Tyranny and oppression? And hath not all the blood that hath been spilt these seven years been cast upon my head, who am the greatest sufferer, though the least guilty? And was it not requisite to endeavour the stopping of that flux, which, if not stopt, will bring an absolute destruction to this Nation? And what more speedy way was there to consummate those distractions than by a *personall Treaty*, being agreed upon by my two Houses of Parliament, and condescended to by Me? And I might declare, that I conceive it had been the best physick, had not the operation been hindered by the interposition of this imperious Army, who were so audacious as to stile Me, in their unparallel'd Remonstrance, *Their capitall Enemy*: But let the World judge, whether mine endeavours have not been attended with reality in this late Treaty; and whether I was not as ready to grant, as they were to ask; and yet all this is not satisfaction to them that pursue their own ambitious ends more than the welfare of a miserable Land. Were not the dying hearts of my poor distressed people much revived with the hope of a happinesse from this Treaty? and how sad

denly are they frustrated in their expectations! Have not I formerly been condemned for yeelding too little to my two Houses of Parliament; and shall I now be condemned for yeelding too much? Have I not formerly been Imprisoned for making warre, and shall I now be condemned for making peace? Have I not formerly ruled like a KING, and shall I now be ruled like a Slave? Have I not formerly enjoyed the society of my dear Wife and Children in peace and quietnesse; and shall I now neither enjoy them nor peace? Have not my Subjects formerly obeyed Me, and shall I now be obedient to my Subjects? Have I not been condemned for evill Counsellors, and shall I now be condemned for having no Councell but God? These are unutterable miseries, that the more I endeavour for peace, the lesse My endeavours are respected: And how shall I know hereafter what to grant, when you your selves know not what to ask? I referre it to your Consciences, whether I have not satisfied your desires in every particular since this Treaty; if you finde I have not, then let Me bear the burden of the fault: but if I have given you ample satisfaction (as I am sure I have) then you are bound to vindicate me from the fury of those, whose thoughts are fild with blood; though they pretend zeal, yet they are but Wolves in Sheeps cloath-

I must further declare, that I conceive there is nothing can more obstruct the long hoped for peace of this Nation, than the illegall proceedings of them that presume from Servants to become Masters, and labour to bring in Democracy, and to abolish Monarchy. Needs must the totall alteration of fundamentalls be, not only destructive to others, but in conclusion to themselves: for they that endeavour to live by the Sword, shall at last fall by it; for Sedition is the mother of ruine: and it is the

humour

humor of those who are of this Weather-cock like disposition, to love nothing but mutabilities, neither will that please them but only *pro tempore*; for the too much variety doth but confound the Senses, and makes them still hate one folly, and fall in love with another.

Time is the best cure for faction; for it will at length (like a spreading leprosie) infect the whole body of the Kingdome, and make it so odious, that at last they will hate themselves for love of that, and, like the fish, for love of the bait, he catch'd with the hook.

I once more declare to all my loving Subjects, and God knows whether or no this may be my last, that I have earnestly laboured for peace, and that my thoughts were sincere and absolute, without any sinister ends, and there was nothing left undone by Me that my Conscience would permit Me to doe. And I call God to witnesse that I doe firmly conceive, that the interposition of the Army (that cloud of malice) hath altogether eclipsed the glory of that peace, which began again to shine in this land. And let the World judge whether it be expedient for an Army to contradict the Votes of a Kingdome, endeavouring, by pretending for Laws and Liberties, to subvert both. Such actions as these must produce strange consequences, and set open the flood gates of ruine to overflow this Kingdome in a moment. Had this Treaty been only mine own seeking, then they might have had fairer pretences to have stopt the course of it; but I being importun'd by my two Houses, and they by most part of the Kingdome, could not but with a great deal of alacrity concurre with them in their desires, for the performance of so commodious a work: and I hope by this time that the hearts and eyes of my people are opened so much that they plainly discover who are the underminers of this Treaty.

For mine own part, I here protest before the

face of Heaven, that mine own afflictions (though they need no addition) afflict Me not so much as my peoples sufferings: for I know what to trust to already, and they know not: God comfort both them and Me, and proportion our patience to our sufferings!

And when the malice of Mine Enemies is spun out to the smallest thread, let them know, that I will by the grace of God, be as contented to suffer, as they are active to advance My sufferings: and mine own Soul tels Me, that the time will come, when the very clouds shall drop down vengeance upon the heads of those that barricado themselves against the proceedings of peace: for, if God hath proclaimed a blessing to the peace-makers, needs must the peace-breakers draw down curses upon their heads.

I thank My God, I have armed my self against their fury: and now let the arrows of their envy fly at Me, I have a breast to receive them, and a heart possest with patience to sustain them: for God is My Rock and My Shield; therefore I will not fear what man can doe unto Me. I will expect the worst; and if any thing happen beyond my expectation, I will give God the Glory, for vain is the help of man.

Letters

LETTERS

written by

His MAJESTY

To ſeverall Perſons ſince the beginning of this Parliament, heretofore publiſhed at ſeverall times, and now collected into one body.

Together with thoſe intercepted Letters publiſhed by the PARLIAMENT, before which is prefixed His MAJESTIES Letter to Secretary NICHOLAS, concerning the publiſhing of them; and part of one of His MAJESTIES Declarations concerning the ſame.

To

I.

To the House of Peers about the Reprieve of the Earl of Strafford, *sent by the Prince*, May 11. 1641. *from* White-Hall.

My Lords,

I Did yesterday satisfie the justice of the Kingdome by passing of the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*: but mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a King as justice, I desire at this time in some measure to shew, that likewise by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in a close imprisonment; yet so, that if ever he make the least offer to escape, or offer directly, or indirectly to meddle in any sort of publick businesse, especially with Me, either by Message or Letter, it shall cost him his life without further processe. This, if it may be done without the discontentment of my people, will be an unspeakable contentment to Me.

To which end, As in the first place, I by this Letter doe earnestly desire your approbation and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry it, that of all your House is most dear to Me; So I desire that by a conference, you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment: Likewise assuring you, that the exercise of mercy is no more pleasing to me, than to see both Houses of Parliament consent for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the Law, in so important a case.

I will not say that your complying with Me, in this my intended mercy shall make me more willing, but certainly it will make Me more carefull in granting your just grievances. But if no lesse than his life can satisfie My people;

people, I must say *fiat justitia*. Thus again recommending the consideration of my intentions to you, I rest,

Your unalterable and affectionate friend,

Whitehall May 11. 1641.

Charles R.

If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

3.

To the Lord Keeper, about Mr. Attorney General. March 4. 1641.

From Royston.

C. R.

RIght trusty and well beloved Counsellor We greet you well, and have thought good hereby to certifie, that We did the third of *January* last, deliver to Our Attorney certain Articles of Accusation ingrossed in paper a Coppy whereof we have sent here inclosed; and did then Command him in Our name to acquaint Our House of Peers that divers great and treasonable designes and practises against Us and the State had come to Our knowledge for which We command him, in Our name to accuse the six persons, in the said Paper mentioned, of High treason, and other high misdemeanours by delivering the Paper to Our said House; and to desire to have it read: And further, to desire in Our Name, that a Committee of Lords might be appointed to take the examinations of such Witnesses as

would produce, and as formerly had been done in cases of like nature, according to the just ce of the Houses: and the Committee to be under a command of secrecy as formerly, and further in Our Name to ask liberty, to add and alter if there should be cause. We doe further declare, that Our said Attorney did not advise or contrive the said Articles, nor had any thing to doe with, or in advising any breach of Privilledge that followed after: And for what he did in obedience to Our Commands, We conceive he was bound by Oath, and the duty of his place and by the trust by Us reposed in him so to doe: And had he refused to obey Us herein, We would have questioned him for breach of Oath, Duty, and Trust.

But now having declared that we finde cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the persons accused, We have commanded him to proceed no further therein, nor to produce nor discover any proof concerning the same.

Given at Royston *the fourth of* March, 1641.

3.

To the Lord Keeper about the Lord Admiral, March 21. 1642.

From York.

RIght trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, We greet you well. We wonder much at the form and matter of that inclosed paper ye sent Us (in the name of both Houses of Parliament in yours of the 28 of *March*) being neither by way of Petition, Declaration, or Letter; and for the matter We believe it is the first time that the Houses of Parliament have taken upon them the nomination, recommendation of the chief Sea-Commander

der; but it adds to the wonder, that Sir *John Penuington* being already appointed by Us for that service, upon the recommendation of Our Admiral (which is so well known that none can be ignorant of it) and no fault so much as alledged against him, another should be recommended to Us; therefore Our resolution upon this point is, that We will not alter him whom We have already appointed to command this years Fleet, whose every way sufficiency is so universally known, the which We are confident Our Admiral (if there shall be occasion) will make most evident, (against whose testimony We suppose Our Parliament will not except) And though there were yet none appointed, or the said Sir *John* (through some accident) not able to perform the service, yet the men of that profession are so well known to Us (besides many other reasons) that (Our Admiral excepted because of his place) recommendations of that kinde would not be acceptable to Us.

Given at Our Court at York, *March* 31. 1642.

4.

To the Major of Hul, April 25. 1642. *From* York.

TRusty and well-beloved, We greet you well, Whereas We have been long sensible of the just complaints and great burdens of Our Subjects in these Northern parts, by occasion of the Garrison in Our Town of *Hull*. And whereas We were upon Friday the 22. of this moneth petitioned by divers of the Gentry, and others, Inhabitants of this County, That the munition at *Hull* might remain in the Magazine there, for the security of Our person, and of all these Northern parts, their

fear being much grounded upon the Parliaments relations of forain Invasions: Upon which, the more to expresse Our care of Our peoples safety, We did Our Self goe in person to that Our Town, that upon Our own view, We might consult what proportion of it might be fitly removed upon any pressing occasion, having a respect to the promised supply for *Scotland*, the necessary use of arms for *Ireland*, as well as for the safeguard and satisfaction of these Northern parts. But much contrary to Our expectation, and the duty and allegiance of Our Subjects, We found the Gates of that Our Town shut, and the Bridges drawn up against Us: And though We came in a peaceable way, reposing the greatest confidence in the love and loyalty of Our people, by offering (as we did) to put Our own Person and Our two Sons, but with twenty Horse, into that Town, there being in it a Garrison of about eight hundred Souldiers: yet we were not only denyed entrance, but in a warlike manner oppoled by Sir *John Hotham*, the armed men being placed in all the Ports, and about all the Walls of the Town, alledging (though falsely) for his excuse the command of the Parliament, and being pressed by Us to shew such an Order in writing, he could not doe it; for We were ever very confident that there was never any publique Order of theirs, that could so much as imply a denyal to Our admission; We knowing well enough, that he was entrusted by them for a guard and security of that place against forain Enemies, or those at home who are disaffected in Religion, and not against his natural Sovereign; which hostile opposition, and actual levying of War against Our Person, being by the Statute of 25 *Ed.* 3. stated High Treason: Which Statute considered, and that for the avoiding of all jealousies, as We have said, We were content to have been admitted with so very small a num-

ber

ber in Our company, We were thereupon constrained to proclaim the said Sir *John Hotham* and all those that should adhere to, or assist him, Traitors. Of all which abovesaid passages We have acquainted Our Parliament, demanding justice to be done upon him, that they might thereby have opportunity to vindicate the imputation laid on them by Sir *John Hotham*, and We the easier way to chastise, according to the Law, so high a Treason. And lest a misunderstanding of Our intentions or of the Law may misguide any of Our loyal and well affected subjects, the Inhabitants Captains, Officers, or Souldiers in that Town We have thought fit to commend to your consideration the aforesaid Statute, with that of the 11 of *Hen* 7. *chap.* 1.

Wherein it is declared, by the unanimous assent of Parliament, *That the Subjects of this Realm are bound by the duty of Allegiance to serve the King, for the time being, for the defence of his person and the Land against every Rebellion, Might or Power raised against Him, and with His Majesty to enter or abide service in battel if cause so require.* And it was therefore then enacted *That from thencefoth no person whatsoever that shall attend upon the King or be in place by his command, within or without the Land, That for the same deed and true service of Allegiance, he and they be no ways attaint or convict of High Treason, or of other offences for that cause by any processe of Law whereby he, or any of them shall lose or forfeit Lives, Lands, Tenements, Goods or any thing but be for that deed and service utterly discharged of any vexation, trouble or losse: And if any Act or Acts, of other processe of Law thereupon for the same happen to be made contrary to this Ordinance, that then that Act or Acts, other Processe of the Law, whatsoever they be, stand and be utterly void.*

All which, together with the Copies

Our Meſſage and Petition (which We ſend here incloſed) We require you to publiſh to the Inhabitants, and all ſuch Commanders and Souldiers as will hear them: That knowing both the perill of the Law on the one ſide, and the ſecurity of ſuch as ſhall adhere to Us on the other, they be not miſled (through ignorance) to decline their allegiance: And that the Souldiers may lay down their arms, and admit Our entrance in a peaceable way. In ſo doing you ſhall both diſcharge your duties, and thoſe that ſhall have needs be aſſured to finde (upon ſuch their ſubmiſſion) Our ready mercy and pardon. And We doe likewiſe require and charge all you, the Inhabitants (as well Souldiers as others) upon your Allegiance, That you permit not any part of Our Magazine or Munition to be removed or tranſported out of that Town under any pretence of Order or power whatſoever, without Our Royall aſſent in writing under Our hand; Aſſuring you, that it will be much more pleaſing to Us to have occaſion adminſtred by the fidelity of the Inhabitants to enlarge thoſe graces and immunities granted to that Town by Our Predeceſſors, than to have any occaſion to queſtion your Charter.

Given at Our Court at York, *the* 25. *of* Aprill 1642.

5.

To the High Sheriff of Yorkſhire, May 5. 1642.

From York.

TRuſty and well-beloved, We greet you well: Whereas We underſtand, that *Iohn Hotham* takes upon him (without any lawfull authority or power) to iſſue Warrants

rants to Constables, and other Our Officers to raise divers of Our Trained Bands of this Our Country, and requires them to march with their arms, and to come into Our Town of Hull where he hath disarmed divers of them keeps their arms, and discharges the men, and whereas We are credibly informed, that divers persons who were lately Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains and Officers of the Trained Bands of this Our County, intend shortly to summon, and endeavour to muster the forces of this Our County: For as much as by the Law of the Land, none of Our Trained Bands are to be raised or mustered upon any pretence or authority whatsoever, but by special Warrant under Our own hand, or by a legal Writ directed to the Sheriff of the County, or by Warrant from the Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy Lieutenants of the County appointed and authorized by Commission under Our Great Seal. And whereas at present there is no Lord Lieutenant or Deputy Lieutenant legally authorized to command the Forces and Trained Bands of this Our County of York, and the Commissions, command, and power of all Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains and Officers, of Our Trained Bands (which were derived from the Commission and power of the Lord Lieutenant only) are now actually void, and of no force and authority. Our will and command therefore is, That you forthwith issue Warrants under your hand, to all the late Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains, and Officers, who (whiles the Lord Lieutenants Commission was in force) had the command of the Trained Bands of this Our County: & also to all High and Petty Constables, and other Our Officers in this Our County, whom it may concern, charging and commanding them, and every of them, in Our Name, and upon their allegiance, and as they tender the peace of the

Our Kingdome, not to muster, levy, or raise, or to summon, or warn (upon any pretence or directions whatsoever) any of Our Trained Bands to rise, muster, or march, without expresse Warrant under Our hand, or Warrant from you Our Sheriff, grounded upon a particular Writ to that purpose; which We also command you, not to put in execution without Our privity and allowance, whiles We shall reside in this Our County. And in case any of Our Trained Bands shall rise, or gather together, contrary to this Our command, Then We will and command you to charge and require them, to dissolve and retire to their dwellings. And if upon due summons from you, they shall not lay down their arms, and depart to their dwellings; We will and command you upon your allegiance, and as you tender the peace and quiet of this Our Kingdome, to raise the power of the County, and suppresse them by force, as the Law hath directed and given you power to doe. And to the end that this Our expresse command may be notified to all Our good subjects in this Our County, so as none may pretend hereafter to have been misled through ignorance. We require you to cause these Our Letters to be forthwith read, and published openly in all Churches and Parishes of this Our County. Herein you may not fail, as you tender the safety and honour of Our Person, the good and peace of this Our Kingdome, and will answer the contrary at your perill. For which this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given at Our Court at York, *May* 5. *&c.*

6.

To the Gentry of Yorkshire, May 16. 164[illegible]

From York.

WE have with great contentment con-
sidered your dutifull and affectionate
Answer to Our proposition concerning the in-
sufferable affront which We received at *Hull*;
We have not been deceived in that confi-
dence We had in your affection, wherefore
We desire you to assure the rest of your
Countrymen, who through negligence, were
omitted to be summoned: that We shall ne-
ver abuse your love by any power wherewith
God shall enable Us, to the least violation
of the least of your liberties or the dimina-
tion of those immunities which We have
granted you this Parliament, though they be
beyond the Acts of most (if not all) Our Pro-
decessors being resolved with a constant and
firm resolution to have the Law of this Land
duely observed, and shall endeavour only
so to preserve Our just Royall Rights, as
may enable Us to protect Our Kingdome and
people, according to the ancient Honours of
the Kings of *England*, and according to the
trust which by the Law of God and the
Land is put into the Crown, being sufficien-
ly warned by the late affront at *Hull*, not
to transfer the same out of Our power; con-
cerning which affront We will take some
time to advise which way We may usefully
imploy your affections: In the mean time We
shall take it well from all such as shall per-
sonally attend Us, so followed and provided
as they shall think fit for the better safety of
Our person, because We know not what hid-
den violence, or affront may be offered to
Us, having lately received such an actuall tes-
timony of rebellious intentions as Sir J[illegible]

Ha[illegible]

Hotham hath expressed at *Hull*: Being thus secured by your affections and assistance, We promise you Our protection against any contrary power whatsoever. And that you shall not be molested for your humble and modest petition, as of late you have been threatned.

Given at our Court at York, May 16. 1642.

7.

To the Privie Councell of Scotland, May 20. 1642.

From York.

C. R.

RIght trusty and wel-beloved Cousins and Counsellors, We greet you well. Although We have already written Our minde to you Our Councel, yet upon Our second thoughts, arising especially from some bad rumors comming to Our knowledge, We finde it necessary both for Our Self, and for the good of that Our Kingdome, to declare and make known both Our disposition and desires more fully.

We know and feel the charge to be great, and the place to be high, wherein God (the King of Kings) hath placed Us, and that We must render an account of all Our actions to Him, who in his own time shall judge all men without exception of persons. We have no other intentions, but by Our government, to honour him by whom Kings reign, and to procure the good of Our people; and for this end, to preserve the right and authority wherewith God hath vested Us, and which by his providence hath been derived to Us by many Princes Our Progenitors: in the which glory that Our

ancient Kingdome, and native Realm of *Scotland* doth participate.

We did not require of you that you should sit as Judges upon the affairs of another Kingdom: We only intended to have both Our sufferings and Our actions (as they are expressed in many papers past betwixt Us and Our Parliament) made throughly known to you: that since We have none besides you whom We can acquaint with Our proceedings, you may clearly see, that We have been so far from wronging Our Parliament of *England*, that We have given them all satisfaction, even above that which they themselves in the beginning did expresse, or almost desire, and as much as could well consist with the safety of Our Person and Honour. We will not put you in minde of your naturall affection towards Us, which We know will rather be kindled than extinguished by our distresse: Nor of your Covenant wherein you are zealous of Our greatnesse and authority, and which standeth in that sense wherein you did swear and subscribe it: Nor the many good Laws made in Our late Parliament, (of which We hope the present and the succeeding generations shall reap the fruit when We are dead and gone:) Nor of the many promises made unto Us, upon which We were willing to yeeld to such things for settling the Government of that Our Kingdom in Our personall absence, which neither could We have granted, nor would you have craved (as your selves did professe) had Our great affairs permitted our residence amongst you. And whereas We are most unjustly blamed and calumniated, 1. That We are popishly affected: 2. That We are the cause of all the bloodshed in *Ireland*: 3. That We intend to bring in Forain Forces: We here do protest and declare in presence of him who knows the most secret of Our intentions and actions, that We are no waies conscious to

Self of the guiltinesse of any of the said aspersions; and doe take him to witnesse Our innocency therein, who only hath the priviledge to be the searcher of hearts. And if any after so full and plain profession shall distrust this Our free Declaration, We attest God, that the fault is in the malignity of their rebellious humours, and no wayes deserved on Our part.

Given at Our Court at York, May 20. 1642.

8.

To the Lord Willoughby *of* Parham, June 4. 1642.

From York.

C. R.

RIght trusty and wel-beloved, We greet you well. Whereas Wee understand, that you have begun to assemble, train, and muster the Trained Bands of Our County of Lincoln, under pretence of an Ordinance of Parliament, whereto We have not given Our assent; which is not onely contrary to Law, but to Our command and pleasure, signified by Our Proclamation sent to the High Sheriffe of that our County: Wherefore, that you may not hereafter plead ignorance of such Our prohibition, We doe by these Our Letters, command and charge you, upon your allegiance, to desist and forbear to raise, muster, train, exercise, or assemble together any part of the Trained Bands of Our County, either by your self, or by any others imployed under you, or by warrant from you. And because you may for what you have already done, concerning the Militia of that Our County, plead that you had not so particular a command, We

shall passe by what you have already done therein, so as presently upon your receipt hereof you shall desist and give over medling any further with any thing belonging to the Militia of that Our County; but if you shall not presently desist, and forbear medling therewith, We are resolved to call you to a strict account for your disobedience therein, after so many particular and legall commands given you upon your Allegiance to the contrary, and shall esteem and proceed against you as a disturber of the peace of Our Kingdome.

Given at Our Court at York, June 4 1642.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved the Lord Willoughby *of* Parham.

9.

To the Commissioners of Array in Leicestershire, June 12. 1642.

From York.

C. R.

RIght trusty and right well-beloved Cousins, and right trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well: Whereas it hath been declared, by the Votes of both Houses of Parliament the fifteenth of *March* last, that the Kingdome hath of late, and still is in so evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad and a popish discontented party at home; that there is made and inevitable necessity of putting Our Subjects to a posture of defence, for the safety both of Our person and people: and whereas divers Inhabitants of divers Counties have addressed their Petitions to

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purpose: And whereas a small number of both Houses (after it had been rejected by the Lords in a full House and without Our Royall assent or opinion of the Judges concerning the legality hereof) have attempted by way of Ordinance to put in execution the power of the Militia of the Kingdome, and to dispossesse many of Our ancient Nobility of the command and trust reposed in them by Us, and have nominated divers others, who have no interest in, nor live neer to some of the Counties to which they are nominated for the Lieutenancy, whereby they cannot be properly serviceable to the Counties wherewith they are intrusted, nor Our people receive that content and security which We desire they should: To submit to the execution of which power by the way of Ordinance, without it were reduced into a Law by Act of Parliament established by Our Royall assent, were to introduce and expose Our Subjects to a meer Arbitrary Government, which by Gods Grace We shall never permit.

We therefore considering that by the Laws of the Realm it belongeth solely to Us, to order and govern the Militia of the Kingdome; have thereupon by Our Proclamation of the 27. of *May* last, prohibited all manner of persons whatsoever, upon their Allegiance, to muster, levy, or summon upon any Warrant, Order, or Ordinance from one or both Houses of Parliament, whereunto We have not, or shall not give Our expresse consent, any of the Trained Bands, or other Officers, without expresse Warrant under Our hands, or Warrant from Our Sheriff of the County, grounded on a particular Writ to that purpose under Our great Seal. And considering that in ancient time the Militia of the Kingdome was ever disposed of by Commissions of Array, and that by a particular Statute upon Record in the Tower

made in the fifth yeer of *Henry* the fourth, by full consent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and Commons, and at their suit, and by the advice and opinion of the Judges then had such Commissions were mitigated in respect of some clauses perilous to the Commissioners; and approved of for the time to come: And that by the subsequent Records it appeareth that all Our Royall Predecessors have continually exercised that power by such Commissions, till of late time they have been discontinued by the Grants of particular Commissions of Lieutenancy; little differing in substance from the said Commissions of Array, against which it seems the Houses have taken some exception. And though We are no way satisfied of the illegality of them, Our Councell being never heard in the defence thereof, yet being willing to avoid all exceptions at present, We have thought fit to refer it to that ancient legall way of disposing the power of the Militia, by such Commissions of Array, for defence of Us, Our Kingdome, and Our Countrey: Authorizing you, or any three or more of you, to Array and Train Our people, and to apportion and assesse such persons as have estates, and are not able to bear arms, to finde arms for other men, in a reasonable and moderate proportion; and to conduct them so arrai'd, as well to the Coasts as other places for the opposition and destruction of Our Enemies in case of danger, as to your discretions or any three or more of you shall seem meet. Whereof you *Henry* Earl of *Huntingdon*, and in your absence *William* Earl of *Devon*, or *Henry Hastings* Esquire, to be one: And being both confident in a great measure of the loyall affections of Our people, and very tender to bring any unnecessary burthen or charge on them, by augmenting the number of the Trained Bands, We doe for the present only require

require that you forthwith cauſe to be muſtred and trained, all the ancient Trained Bands, and Freehold Bands of the County, carefully ſeeing that they be ſupplyed with able and ſuffitient perſons, and completly armed; unleſſe you finde that there be juſt cauſe, and that it ſhall be with the good liking of the inhabitants for their own better ſecurity to make any encreaſe of their numbers: and over ſuch Bands to appoint and ſet ſuch Colonels, Captains, and Officers, as you ſhall think moſt fit for the diſcharge of that ſervice, being ſuch perſons as have conſiderable intereſt in the County and not ſtrangers. And in caſe of any oppoſition, you are to raiſe the power of the County to ſuppreſſe it and to commit all ſuch perſons as ſhall be found rebellious herein, into the cuſtody of Our Sheriff; whoſe care and aſſiſtance We eſpecially require. And that he ſhall from time to time iſſue forth ſuch Warrants for the aſſembling of Our people, at ſuch times and places as by you ſhall be agreed on, according to the truſt repoſed in him by Our ſaid Commiſsion. And We have authorized you Our Commiſsioners, or any three of you, after ſuch Array made, from time to time, to train and take muſters of Our ſaid Bands; and to provide Beacons, and other neceſſaries for the better exerciſing of Our people, and diſcovery of ſudden invaſions and commotions: Of all which your proceedings herein, We expect a ſpeedy and plenary account, according to the truſt repoſed in you, and authority given you by Our Commiſsion in that behalf.

Given at *Our Court at* York, *the twelfth day of* June, *in the* 18. *yeer of Our reign*, 1642.

to

To the Major, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of London, June 14. 1642.

From York.

C. R.

TRusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We have received several informations of great summs of money endeavoured to be borrowed of Our City of *London*, by some direction proceeding from both Our Houses of Parliament, and likewise that great labour is used to perswade Our Subjects to raise Horse, and to furnish money, upon pretence of providing a guard for Our Parliament; These are to let you know, that (notwithstanding any scandalous Votes which have presumed to declare Our intention of levying war against Our Parliament, and to lay other aspersions on Us, so fully disavowed by Us in the presence of Almighty God, by Our severall Answers and Declarations) all Our desires and purposes are for the publick peace, and that We have not the least thought of raising or using force except We are compelled to it for the defence of Our person, and in protection of the Law: And therefore We expect, that you suffer not your selves to be misled by such vain and improbable suggestions; And doe declare That if you shall lend any summs of money towards the relief of *Ireland*, (to which We have contributed all the assistance could be desired of Us, which way soever the money given and raised to that purpose is disposed) or towards the payment of Our Scotish Subjects, We shall take it as an acceptable service at your hands; but if upon generall pretences contrived by a few factious persons

gainst the peace of the Kingdome, you shall give or lend any money, or provide or raise any horses or arms, towards the raising such a guard, We shall look upon it as the raising force against Us, and to be done in malice and contempt of Us and Our Authority. And We doe therefore straitly charge and command you to publish this Our Letter to the severall Masters and Wardens of the severall Companies, that they may be assured, that such money as they shall lend out of their good affection to the Kingdome, may be only imployed for *Ireland* or *Scotland*, and not toward such Guards which (in truth) are intended by the contrivers of that Design (though We believe many honest men seduced by them doe not yet see their end) to be imployed against Us: And if you and they shall herein fail punctually and severally to observe Our commands, We shall not only proceed against the severall Companies for deceiving the trust reposed in them; but against the particular persons, as contemners and opposers of Our Authority, and of the Law of the Land, in the most exemplary way the known Law of the Land shall prescribe to Us; and shall be compelled to question the Charter of your City, which We are willing yet to believe (notwithstanding the barbarous and insolent demeanour of the meaner and baser sort) in a good degree to continue loyall to Us. And of your obedience to these Our commands We doe expect and require a full account, and of the names of such persons who shall oppose the same. Hereof fail you not as you will answer the contrary at your perill.

Given at Our Court at York, *the* 14. *day of* June, *&c.*

II.

To the Judges, to be published in their Circuits, July 4. 1642.

From York.

C. R.

TRusty and wel-beloved We greet you well. We call to minde that in former times the constant custome was by the mouth of the Lord Keeper for the time being, at the Court of Star-Chamber, in the end of Trinity Term, to put the Judges of Assise (shortly after to undertake their severall Circuits) in minde of such things as were then thought necessary for the present, for the good government of the Kingdome. This course in Our judgement We doe well approve of. That although We want the oportunity, which We and Our Predecessors then had, of communicating Our thoughts to Our Judges for the good of Our people, yet We doe still retain the same care for the safety and prosperity of Our good Subjects: And make more, by how much the distempers and distractions of the present times, unhappily falne have given Us more occasion. We have therefore thought it fit, to supply the defect by these Our Letters; wherein, besides the generall care of justice, committed to Us by God, and by Us delegated to Our Judges by Our severall Commissions, We recommend unto you in your Circuits, as We shall do to the rest of your Brethren in their severall Circuits, these particulars following:

First, That you take care, by all the lawfull means you can, to suppresse Popery in those Counties whither you are to go, by putting the Laws made against them in due execution: And that you take like care

give a stop to the overhasty growth of Anabaptism and other Schisms, as far as by the good Laws of the Land you may; and to punish the Delinquents with an equall hand, and those specially of either sort whom you shall discover to be seditious stirrers and movers of others to any acts of disobedience to Us, and Our Government; and that in charge and otherwise, as you shall have fit oportunity, you assure Our good Subjects in Our Name, and in the word of a King, who calls God to witnesse, that by his gracious assistance We are constantly resolved to maintain the true Protestant Religion, established by Law in this Church of *England*, in the purity thereof, without declining either to the right hand or to the left, as We found it at Our accesse to the Crown, and as it was maintained in the happy times of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* Our dear Father, both of happy memory, and therein both to live and dye.

Secondly, You shall let Our people of those Counties know, That according to Our Kingly duty and Oath, We are also constantly resolved to maintain the Laws of this Our Kingdome; and by and according to them to govern Our Subjects, and not by any Abitrary power, whatsoever the malevolent spirits of any ill affected to Our person or government, have suggested, or shall suggest to the contrary. And that We shall also maintain the just priviledges of Parliament, as far as ever Our Predecessors have done, and as far as may stand with that justice which We owe to Our Crown, and the honour thereof: But that We may not, nor will admit of any such unwarranted power, in either, or both Houses of Parliament, which in some things hath been lately usurped, not only without, but against Our Royall consent and Command. And We require and command you, as there shall be just occasion offered, in a legall way, that you take

take care to preserve Our just Right in these cases.

Thirdly, We charge you, as you tender the peace of this Kingdom in the government whereof, according to the Laws, you Our Judges of the Law have a principal part under Us, that you take care for suppressing of all Insurrections, if any such should happen, and of all Riots and unlawfull Assemblies under any pretence whatsoever, not warranted by the Laws of this Land; and whosoever shall transgresse therein, that you let them know that they must expect that punishment which by the Law may be inflicted upon them, and at your hands We shall look for such an account herein, within your Circuit as becommeth the quality of the place wherein you serve Us.

Fourthly, because the distempers of the present times, unhappily stirred up and fomented by some under specious, but unjust pretences, and probable to stir up loose and ungoverned people, under hope of impunity as far as they dare to make a prey of Our good Subjects, We straitly charge and command you to take the best order you can in those Counties, that Rogues, Vagabonds, and other disorderly people may be apprehended, dealt with and punished according to the Laws, whereby the good and quiet people of Our Kingdom may be secured and the wicked and licentious may be suppressed: and we charge and command you to give it in charge in all the Counties whither you are sent by Our Commission, that Watches and Wards be straigtly kept in all Parishes and places convenient, whereby the Laws made against such disorders may be put in due execution.

Fiftly, and lastly, you shall let Our people of those Counties know from Us, and by Our command that if they shall professe unto Us or unto you in Our stead, any thing wherein they hold themselves grieved, in an hum-

and fitting way, and shall desire a just Reformation or Relief, We shall give a gracious ear unto them, and with all convenience return them such an answer, as shall give them cause to thank Us for Our justice and favour: And when you shall have published Our clear intentions to Our people in these things, lest at the first hearing they should not so fully apprehend Our sense therein, you shall deliver a copy of these Our Letters to the Fore-man of the Grand-Jury, and to any other, if any one shall desire copies of these Our Letters for their better information: And to the end that Our services in your Circuit may not suffer through the absence of Our learned Councel, Our will and command is, that you assigne in every place of your Sessions some of the ablest Lawyers who ride that Circuit to be of Councel for Us, to assist in such Pleas of the Crown, that may be most necessary for Our service in the execution and punishment of notorious Delinquents.

Of all these things We shall expect that good account from you, as We shall from the rest of your brethren Our Judges, to whom We have also written to the like purpose, of whose fidelity and good affections We are confident, as becommeth Us to look for from you, and for you to render to Us, wherein you have so great a trust committed.

Given at Our Court at York, July 4. 1642.

To Our trusty and well-beloved, the Judge or Judges of Assise for Our Counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hertford *and* Essex.

To

12.

To the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. *July* 18. 1642.

From Beverley.

Reverend Father in God, We greet you well,

WHereas We have received a most large and ample testimony of the affection of that Our loyal University to Us, by the free loan of a very considerable sum of money, in a time of so great and imminent necessity, These are to will and require you, to give to that Our University from Us, Our Royall thanks, and to assure them and every of them (Our loving and loyal Subjects) that this testimony of their hearts towards Us shall never depart out of Our Royal memory, and that both they shall be carefully repaid, and the money imployed only upon the defence of Our self, the true Protestant Religion, and the Laws established in this Our Kingdome: and whereas We hear, that for this action so full of loyalty and allegiance, some of the Our University have been ordered to be [illegible] for, these are to will and require you, to signifie unto them and every of them, (who assume such power to themselves without Us) That We will and command, that no obedience be given to any such summons, holding Our Self bound to protect and defend those who shall be prosecuted for that cause, by having contributed to Our defence and protection. And so We bid you farewell.

Given at Our Court at Beverly, July 18. 164[illegible]

13.

To the Major of Oxford, July 22. 1642.

From Nottingham.

C. R.

TRusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We have lately received very ample testimonies of the good affections of Our University of *Oxon*, by the loan of such monies as could be thence spared for the supply of Our urgent and extraordinary occasions; for which dutifull and affectionate expression, We are informed that severall worthy persons of that Our University, Our servants and others are threatned to be troubled and molested, We have thought fit to commend the care, assistance, & protection of that place and of the persons in it, to you, as a service, wherein you shall merit Our favour and good acceptance, and of which We shall require an account. And We doe therefore will and require you, as you tender Our displeasure, if any Warrant, Order, or other direction whatsoever shall come to your hand for the apprehending or troubling any person or persons of that Our University, for his good affection to Our service, in advancing the businesse of lending and supplying Us with money, which We shall never forget, that you be so far from countenancing or assisting any such warrant or direction, that on the contrary you use your utmost power to preserve those Our good Subjects from such oppression, the which We shall take in very good part at your hand, and for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

Given at Our Court at Nottingham, July 22. 1642.

To

14.

To the Sheriffs of London, January 17. 165[illegible]

From Oxford.

C. R.

TRusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. We received lately a Petition from the Aldermen and Common-Council of Our City of *London*, by the hands of persons intrusted by them for the delivery, who found such a reception from Us, as well manifested Our regard to that body which sent them; Though We well knew by whom that Petition was framed, and where perused and examined, before it was approved by those from whom it seemed to be sent, yet We were so willing to enter into a correspondence with that Our City, and to receive any addresse and application from them, according to that invitation We had given by Our late Proclamation; and were so glad to finde that there was yet some hopes they would look to the peace and happinesse of that City, and at least sever themselves from any Faction or dependance which might insensibly involve them in those calamities they did not foresee, that We returned such a gracious Answer thereunto, as full of candor and affection, that the meanest Inhabitant of that Our City, if he carefully consider the same, will finde himself concerned in it, and that We have had an especial care of his particular. With this Answer of Ours We sent a Servant of Our own, in the company of those who had been so well used by him to require and see that it might be communicated to the whole body of that Our City, not doubting but that both it and the bringer should receive such entertainment thereby as might manifest their due regard of Us, and

Our affection to them: But to Our great wonder, We finde that after ten dayes attendance, and suffering ridiculous Pamphlets to be published in Our Name, as if We retracted Our former resolutions, which Pamphlet We have caused to be burned by the hand of the Hangman, as we also require you to see done) instead of that admission We expected to Our Messenger and Message. Guards of armed men have been brought to keep Our good Subjects, to whom that Our Answer was directed, from being present at the reading thereof; and Speeches have been made by strangers who have been admitted to the City Councils, contrary to the freedome and custome of those meetings) to blast Our said Answer, and to dishonour and slander Us, which if Our good Subjects there shall suffer, We shall be much discouraged in Our desired correspondence with that Our City, and soby the cunning and power of those Incendiaries mentioned in Our Answer (Alderman *Pennington*) who to shew his great loyalty to Us, and his desire to be the chief Magistrate of such a City, being informed that a desperate person there said, That *he hoped shortly to wash his hands in Our blood*, refused to send any Warrant, or to give any direction to any Officer for his apprehension (*Venn*, *Fulk* and *Manwaring*) who have plunged that Our City into such unspeakable calamities, in which they would still keep it to cure their own desperate condition, Our good Subjects there are not suffered to receive Our gracious Answer to their Petition: We have therefore thought fit to write these Our Letters to you, requiring you the Sheriffs of Our said City to take care for the publishing that Our Answer which We herewith send you) to Our good Subjects of that Our City: And Our pleasure is That you the Masters and Wardens of the several Companies of Our said City, forthwith

with ſummon all the members of your ſeve-
ral Companies, with all the Freemen and Ap-
prentices (whoſe hopes and intereſts are ſo
much blaſted in theſe general diſtractions
belonging thereunto, to appear at your ſeve-
ral Halls, where you ſhall cauſe Our ſaid An-
ſwer, together with theſe Our Letters, to be
publikly read that all Our good Subjects may
clearly underſtand howfar We have been from
begetting, how far We are from continuing or
nouriſhing theſe unnatural civil diſſentions,
and how much it is in their own power to re-
move the preſent preſſures, and to eſtabliſh
the future happineſſe and glory of that famous
City, and moſt ſeriouſly weigh every part of
that Our Anſwer, as well that which carries
caution in it for the future, as pardon for what
is paſt; for aſſure your ſelves for the time to
come, We ſhall proceed with all ſeverity a-
gainſt ſuch who ſhall incur the penalty of the
Law in thoſe points, of which We have gi-
ven them ſo fair a warning in Our ſaid An-
ſwer, and whoſoever ſhall not behave him-
ſelf like a good Subject in this Our Kingdom
ſhall not (if We can help it) receive the be-
nefit and advantage of being Our Subject in
any other; but all forain Princes ſhall know,
that as ſuch perſon hath parted with his loyal-
ty to Us, ſo he muſt not hope for any ſecuri-
ty by Us; and to that purpoſe We ſhall
henceforward have a very inquiſitive eye upon
the actions of all Our Subjects, that ſome ex-
ample may be made, how eaſie it is for Us to
puniſh their diſloyalties abroad, who for a
time may avoid Our juſtice at home. And to
the end that none of Our good Subjects of that
Our City may think themſelves bound to obey
any of the Orders or Commands of the pre-
tended Lord Major (whom We have and do
ſtill accuſe of high Treaſon, and conſpiring to
take Our life from Us) It is well known unto
thoſe Citizens who underſtand the Charter of
the

r City (ſo amply granted by our Royal Pro-
nitors, and ſo graciouſly confirmed by Us,
d of which We preſume our good Subjects
ere doe ſtill deſire to receive the benefit,)
at the ſaid *Iſaac Pennington* was never regu-
ly elected, or lawfully admitted to be Lord
ajor of that our City; that in truth Alder-
n *Cordwel* was by the pluralitie of voices
ſen, and that this man was never preſented
, or admitted by Us, in ſuch manner as is
ſcribed by their ſaid Charter, neither had
t Judge, who preſumed to ſwear him, any
re colour of Law or authority to adminiſter
h an oath to him, than he hath to doe the
e to morrow to any other Alderman of the
y: And We doe therefore hereby declare
e ſaid *Iſaac Penington* not to be Major of that
r City of *London*, and to have no lawfull
thority to exercile the ſame, and that our
l Subjects of that our City, ought not to
mit to any Orders, Directions, or Com-
nds which ſhall iſſue from him as Lord
jor of that our City, but that the ſame are
d and of none effect. And we doe once
re require you the Sheriffs of our ſaid City,
all other the Magiſtrates of the ſame, in
ch all our good Subjects of that City will
k you, that you cauſe the ſaid *Iſaac Pe-*
n, *Ven*, *Fulk*, and *Manwaring* to be ap-
hended and committed to ſafe cuſtody, that
e may proceed againſt them as guilty of
h-Treaſon and principal Authors of thoſe
nities which are now ſo heavy upon our
e Subjects of that City, and if not ſudden-
remedied, will in a ſhort time utterly con-
d a place, and a people lately of ſo flou-
g an eſtimation in all parts of Chriſten-
. And whereas we are informed that
Brown a Woodmonger, *Tichburne* a Li-
-Draper, and one *Harvey* a Silkman, have
ted great inſolencies and outrages in that
City, and when many of our good Sub-

jects

jects there, have assembled together in a p
able and modest manner, to consult about
peace and welfare of that City, the said
tinous and seditious persons have presum
lead multitudes of armed men against th
and by such force have beaten, wounded,
killed our good Subjects. Our will and p
sure is, That if the said *Brown*, *Tho*
and *Harvey*, or either of them, shall refu
lect our gracious offer of pardon, as t
engage themselves in those unwarrantable
seditious courses, That you our Sheriffs
London raise power to suppresse the said fo
and that you, and all our Ministers of ju
use your utmost means to apprehend the
persons, and to bring them to condign pu
ment. And We doe hereby declare, tha
shall be lawfull for any of our loving Subje
to resist and oppose the said persons, if
shall hereafter in such a warlike ma
endeavour to molest them, as they would
Rebels and Traitors: And We hope
all our good Subjects of that our much
red City of *London*, doe take notice
grace and favour towards them, in Our so
ly passing by and pardoning the offences
committed against Us, as We have e
by Our Proclamation and Our late An
and of Our very earnest desire to be with th
and reside amongst them for their com
support, and protection, if they shall, by
providing for their own security, in
manner as We have directed them in Our
Answer) give us an instance that we ma
safe there too; and that they doe likewis
serve, that being by such violence kept
them, We have done Our utmost endea
to continue and advance the decayed trad
that Our City, by permitting and encou
all resort and trafique thither; and the
if by the stopping of carriages, and se
commodities by other men, the commerce
o

rrespondence be broken between that place d Our good Subjects of other Counties, ey will impute that mischief to the true au- ors of it, and look upon Us only as not a- le to help them. Doe but your duties, and this ud which threatens a present confusion will resently vanish away, and you will enjoy all e blessings of a happy Nation, to the which endeavour of Ours shall be wanting.

15.

to the Sheriff and Justices of Glouceſter-ſhire, *Febnar.* 12. 1642.

From Oxford.

TRusty and wel-beloved, We greet you well. Whereas there hath been lately insurrection and Rebellion against Us in ur County of *Glouceſter*, which hath so ge- rally possessed the spirits of that County, ough We doe acknowledge many Gentle- n, of the best quality there, have with cou- ge retained their loyalty to Us, and have ined with Us; which We shall always and ticularly remember) that there hath been a eater concurrence therein this desperate Re- llion than in any County of *England*, inso- uch that We have been compelled to send a nsiderable part of Our Army thither, the which pleased God to blesse with such successe, that we hope for the future we shall be able, by the currence and assistance of you, and the rest Our good Subjects of that good County to serve you from the like Invasions. And to w how far We are from the just sense and gnation We might well entertain against e, who have so willfully fallen from their egiance, or concurred with the disloyalty of rs, by not applying themselves to a timely

prevention

prevention, We have sent our gracious proc-
mation to inhibit Our Souldiers from pl-
ing or using any violence to any of Our Su-
jects of that County, of what condition soe-
and to secure them in the freedome of t-
Markets, that their trade and commerce m-
be renewed and continued. Yet We must d-
clare unto you, that We expect some re pa-
on and an exemplary testimony of their co-
sion, and affection, who neglecting Our soc-
Proclamations of Grace and Pardon, conti-
still to foment this unnaturall bloody diffe-
on, though We shall not proceed with stric-
and severity against them: And it will s-
seem just, that the charge and burthen bro-
upon the Country, by the malice and co-
vence of such men, should be equally borne
those who have faithfully adhered in their l-
alty and affection to Us, which is the ch-
the rate for the monethly Contribution ag-
upon, in which all persons of ability are eq-
ly engaged, how different soever their dem-
our hath been; and therefore Our pleasure
That you, or any three of you, whereof
appoint you Our high Sheriff to be one,
and summon together the Gentlemen, Cle-
and substantiall Freeholders, and Inhabit-
of that Our County, to appear before you
such times and places as you shall think m-
convenient, and move them in Our Name fa-
ly to assist and contribute unto Us accord-
to their severall abilities, in these Our ur-
and important occasions, for the maintena-
of the true Protestant Religion, in which th-
have been bred, for the defence of the L-
and Liberties to which they were born,
for the safety of Our person, to which they
so often sworn. And as we believe all w-
affected persons will be willing and ready
on this occasion to expresse their duty to
so We doubt not such, who have by weak-
and misunderstanding, or through fear and
prehen-

ehenſion of danger, been ſo far tranſported,
to contribute or conſent to theſe horrid diſ-
ntions, will by their free and liberall aſſiſt-
ce of us expreſſe, That their former errors
ceeded from weakneſſe, not from malice.
d Our pleaſure is, and We doe hereby au-
rize you Our High Sheriff to receive all
h ſummes of money as ſhall be contributed
o Us; and with the advice of the Juſtices
the Peace, who ſhall aſsiſt you in this ſervice,
return the names of all ſuch who ſhall ex-
ſe their affections to Us this way, as like-
e of thoſe whoſe ſtubbornneſſe and per-
ſeneſſe may, in your opinion, have an ill
ence upon the peace and quiet of the
nty. And you ſhall further require all the
ined Bands of that our County, to ſend in
r Arms they have been charged with, to Our
gnine at *Cirencester*, within ten dayes after
date of this Our Letter, at their utmoſt pe-
: And if any men ſhall excuſe themſelves
ying, that their Arms are already deli-
d in at *Gloceſter*, or *Cirenceſter*, or any o-
place, and therefore, that they cannot obey
herein, you ſhall let them know, that Wee
not conſent, that their readineſſe to obey
e commands which tended to the diſtur-
e of the peace of that Our County, ſhall be
cuſe for their not obeying Ours, which
their neceſſary defence and ſafety; And
fore We ſhall expect that every perſon
that Our County, who is charged with
, or hath found Arms by virtue of the
led Ordinance of the Militia, ſhall with-
time prefixed deliver the Arms with
he is charged, and ſuch who executed the
, all their Arms into Our ſaid Maga-
cept ſuch perſons who ſhall ſufficiently
roof before you, that their Arms were
e and violence taken from them by the
els, and of this you ſhall give Us a
accounts; that We well knowing

&c.

the number of Arms that Our County is charged with, and with which private p have lately furnished themselves, may p of their affections by their obedience to t commands. Lastly, because the City of G *ster*, notwithstanding Our gracious Proc tion and offer of pardon, doth yet refu yeeld that submission and obedience w due to Us, whereby Wee may be co to visit those parts with Our Army, w might else be free from these inconveni We straitly will and command all Our lo Subjects of that Our County, to forbea not to entertain any commerce or tra with Our said City of *Glocester*, neither by ing or selling, or any other offices neighbourhood, till the same shall retu its loyalty and subjection; which if it shall We shall receive it into Our protection defend it from any assaults or violence. you shall cause these Our Letters to be p lickly read in all the Churches and Cha of that Our County, that all Our Su may know the contents thereof, and con themselves accordingly.

Given at Our Court at Oxford, Febr. 1642.

16.

To the Privy Councell of Scotland, Dec. 6. 1642.

From Oxford.

RIght trusty and right wel beloved sins and Counsellors, and right and wel-beloved Councellors, We gr weil. We have lately seen a paper p to Us by the Earl of *Linsey*, as a Dec of the Lords & Commons assembled in t

liament of *England* of the 7. of *November*, to Our Subjects of Our Kingdome of *Scotland*; which after many high taxes of Us and Our government, very earnestly invites, and in a manner challenges assistance from that Our native Kingdome, of Men and Arms for making a war against Us, making a claim to that assistance, by vertue of the late Act of Pacification to the which (out of Our desire to make a perpetuall union betwixt Our two Kingdomes, for the happinesse of both, and by it the more firmly to establish Our own greatnesse and just power,) We cheerfully consented.

As We are at Our soul afflicted, that it hath been in the power of any factious, ambitious, and malitious persons, so far to possesse the hearts of many of Our Subjects of *England*, to raise this miserable distemper and distraction in this Kingdome, against all Our reall indevours and endeavours to the contrary; so We are glad that this rage and fury hath so far transported them, that they apply themselves in so grosse a manner to Our Subjects of *Scotland*, whose experience of Our Religion, Justice and Love of Our people, will not suffer them to believe those horrid scandals laid upon Us; and their affection, loyalty, and jealousie of Our honour, will disdain to be made instruments to oppresse their native Soveraign, by fulling an odious Rebellion.

We have from time to time acquainted Our Subjects of that Kingdome, with the accidents and circumstances which have disquited this: How (after all the acts of Justice, Grace, and favour performed on Our part, which were thought could be desired to make a people compleatly happy,) We were driven by the force and violence of rude and tumultuous assemblies from Our City of *London*, and Our two Houses of Parliament: How attempts have been made to impose Laws upon Our Subjects

without Our consent, contrary to the fun-
dation, and constitution of this Kingdom.
How Our Forts, Goods, and Navy were
seized and taken from Us by force, and im-
ployed against Us: Our Revenue and ordina-
ry subsistance wrested from Us. How We
have been pursued with scandalous and re-
proachfull language; bold, false, and seditious
Pasquils, and Libells publickly allowed against
Us; and been told that We might, without
want of modesty and duty, be deposed. Now
after all this (before any force raised by Us) an
Army was raised, and a Generall appointed to
lead that Army against Us, with a Commis-
on to kill, slay, and destroy all such who should
be faithfull to Us. That when We had been
by these means compelled with the assistance
of Our good Subjects to raise an Army for
Our necessary defence, We sent diverse gra-
ous Messages, earnestly desiring that the ca-
mities and miseries of a civill War might be
prevented by a Treaty, and so We might
know the grounds of this misunderstanding.
How We were absolutely refused to be treat-
ted with; and how at last the Army (raised
as was pretended, for the defence of our per-
son) was brought into the field against Us, to
Us battel, and (though it pleased God to give
Us the Victory) destroyed many of our good
Subjects, with as iminent danger to our sacred
person and our Children, as the skill and ma-
lice of desperate Rebels could contrive to
all which, and the other Indignities which have
been effected Us, We doubt not the dutyfull
affection of our Scottish Subjects will have
just a resentment, that they will expresse to the
World the sense they have of our sufferings.
And our good Subjects of *Scotland* are sure
We hope, so great Strangers to the affairs of
this Kingdome, to believe that this misfor-
tune and distraction is begot and brought
on Us by our two Houses of Parliament

though in truth no unwarrantable action a-
gainst the Law can be justified even by that
uthority.) They well know how the Mem-
bers of both Houses have been driven thence,
insomuch, that of above five hundred Members
of the House of Commons, there are not
now there above eighty, and of above one
hundred of the House of Peers, not above fif-
teen or sixteen. All which are so awed by
he multitude of Anabaptists, Brownists, and
other persons, desperate and decayed in their
ortunes in and about the City of *London*,
hat in truth their consultations have not the
reedom and privilege which belong to
arliaments.

Concerning any Commissions granted by
s to Papists to raise forces, We must refer
ur good Subjects to a Declaration lately set
th by Us upon the occasion of that Scan-
l, which We send together with this; and
our own true and zealous affection to the
otestant Religion (the advancement where-
our Soul desires) We can give no other in-
ces then our constant practice, on which
ice it self can lay no blemish; and those
y Protestations We have made in the sight
Almighty God, to whom We know We
be dearly accountable, if We fail in the
rvation.

or that scandalous imputation of our in-
ion of bringing in forain Forces, as the
is raised without the least colour or sha-
of reason, and solemnly disavowed by
in many of our Declarations; so there
ot be a clearer argument to our Subjects
land, that We have no such thought,
that We have hitherto forborn to require
sistance of that our native Kingdome,
whose obedience duty, and affection We
confidently expect it, if We thought
ur strength here too weak to preserve Us,
whose courage and loyalty We shall

look to make use, before We shall think of any forain aid to succour Us. And We know no reasonable or understanding man can suppose our good Subjects of *Scotland* are obliged, or enabled by the late Act of Parliament in both Kingdomes, to obey the invitation which is made to them by this pretended Declaration; when it is so evidently provided for by that Act, That as the Kingdome of *England* shall not make war against the Kingdom of *Scotland*, without consent of the Parliament of *England*, so the Kingdom of *Scotland* shall not make war against the Kingdom of *England*, without the consent of the Parliament of *Scotland*: And when they have always declared themselves so carefull of our Honour, Safety, and just Rights, which must undergone so great violation.

This We have thought fit to say upon occasion of this late Declaration, and do commend it to you the Lords of Our privie Councel of our Kingdom of *Scotland*, to be communicated and published to all our loving Subjects there; and if the grave counsel and advice, which you derived hither by your of the 22. of *April* last, had been followed here in a tender care of our Royal person and of our Princely greatnesse and authority then would not this face of confusion have appeared, which now threatens this Kingdom. And therefore We require you to use your utmost endeavours to enform our Subjects that our Kingdome of the truth of our condition and that you suffer not the scandalous imputations laid on Us, by the malice and treason of some men, to make any impression in the minds of our people, to the lessening or corrupting their affection and loyalty to us, but that you assure them the hardships we now undergoe, and the arms We have been compelled to take up, are for the defence of our person, and safety of our life, for the

eservance of the true Protestant Religion, for the preservation of the Laws, Liberties, and constitution of this Kingdom; and for the full priviledges of Parliament: and We seek no longer for the blessing of Heaven, than We endeavour the defence and advancement of all these: and We doubt not a dutifull concurrence in our Subjects of *Scotland*, in the care of our Honour and just Rights, will draw down a blessing on that Nation too.

17

To the privie Councel of Scotland, Sept. 18. 1642.

From Stratford.

R.

RIght trusty and well-beloved Cousins and Counsellors, right trusty and trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, and trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. Having been informed that upon petition of the Commissioners from our late generall Assembly our Councel thought fit that you should have a new discharge of that trust imposed on you by Us and our Parliament, whereby all fair means may be used to prevent such troubles and divisions as may interrupt or endanger the common peace of our Kingdoms: And as it ought to be the continual study and care of all good and pious Princes to preserve their people; so certainly it is the duty of all loyal and faithfull Subjects to maintain the greatnesse and just authority of their Princes: to that end this reciprocal endeavour, there can be no happinesse for the Prince, not security for the People. We are confident our late Peace in *Scotland*, will to all posterity be an

acceptable witnesse of our care in preserving the liberty of these our Subjects, and our desire to settle a perfect Peace in that our Kingdom: And we are so confident, that the many good Acts We have past here since the downsitting of this Parliament (indeed denying none but such as denyed Us any power at all, which were never so much as demanded from any of our Predecessors) will bear the like testimony of our affection to the good and peace of that Kingdom, though the successe hath not been alike. For though We have used our best endeavours to prevent the present distractions and threatning dangers, yet so prevalent have been the oppoters of Us, and the peace of our Kingdoms, as not so much as a Treaty can be obtained (though by our severall Messages We have descended to demand and press it) unlesse upon such conditions as would, either by taking all power of government from Us make Us as no King, or by forcing Us to quit the protection of such, as (for obeying Us according to Law and their oath of Allegiance) they would have Traitors, and so make Us doe an act unworthy of a King: Yet so desirous We are to save our Subjects blood, (which cannot but be prodigally spent if We be necessitated by force of armes to decide their unhappy differences) that no such any such Treaty shall be offered unto Us by them (which with honour and safety We can receive) but We shall cheerfully embrace it. This We have thought fit to acquaint you withall, that from our selves you may know our love to peace: and We doubt not but your meeting at this time will produce some act which will witnesse your tender respect to the honour and safety. And so much doe We confide in your affections, as We shall abide to leave the wayes and means of expressing it to your selves. So We bid you heartily farewell.

From Our Court at Stafford 18. Sept. 16

18.

To the *Privy Councel of* Scotland, Octob. 13. 1641.

From Bridgenorth.

R.

RIght trusty and well-beloved Cousins and Councellor, right trusty, and trusty and well-beloved Councellors, and trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. By our Letter the 29. of *September* We conceive you sensible you are of the present distractions of this Kingdom, which cannot be a greater grief to any then to Our Self: But seeing all the means We could possibly use for the removal thereof are (by the practises of such as study division) prevented, and all Our offers of treating (in a fair way to settle these distempers) slighted and not regarded; We are for the defence of true Religion, and the maintenance of the Liberties of the Subject, the privileges of Parliament, and our just, and ever known unquestioned authority, necessitated to put our Self in the posture We are now in, and We shall no further beg a blessing from God on Our proceedings, than We intend the preservation of these.

As for your resolution of sending here some of your number. We see no reason why they should apprehend any danger in their return to Us, for they may be confident to have safe and free access to Our person, which We have never denyed to any of our good Subjects who repaired to Us in a dutifull manner, and were not out of our protection. Therefore We conceive the granting of a safe Conduct to any such absolutely non-necessary: but if they apprehend any danger from the present disorders of this Kingdome, and Ar-

mies now on foot, We will grant such a pas
both for their comming and return, as W
ordinarily give to any of Our Subjects or Se
vants for passing through Our Garrison
Towns, or Armies: which We doubt not w
both secure them, and satisfie you. So W
bid you heartily farewell.

From Our Court at Bridgenorth *the* 13.
October, 1642.

19.

*To the Major, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Com-
mon-Council of* Bristol, *about Mr.* Yeoman
and Mr. Bourchier, *&c. May* 29. 1643.

From Oxford.

TRusty and well-beloved, We greet yo
well. Whereas We are informed tha
by the power and authority of certain factio
and rebellious persons in that Our City o
Bristol divers of Our good Subjects, (as name
ly *Robert Yeomans*, *George Bourchier*, *Willia
Yeomans*, *Edward Dacres*, and others) of th
Our City, are imprisoned for preserving the
duty and loyalty to Us, and for refusing t
joyn in, or assist this horrid and odious Rebe
lion against Us, and that the said wicked an
traiterous persons, have presumed to con
demn the said innocent men to die; and upo
such their sentence notoriously against th
Laws of God and Man, they intend to execu
and murther Our said Subjects We ha
thought fit to signifie to you the Major, Alde
men, Sheriffs, and the rest of the body of th
Councel of that Our City, that if you fail
this horrid and execrable murther to be com
mitted upon the persons aforesaid, and there
by call the just judgement of God, and bri
perpet

perpetual infamy upon that Our City, We shall look upon it, as the most barbarous and inhumane act that hath been yet committed against Us, and upon you, as the most desperate betrayers of Us, and of the lives and liberties of your fellow Subjects. And We doe therefore will and command you, not to suffer any violence to be done upon the persons aforesaid, but that if any such be attempted against them that you raise all the power and strength of that Our City for their rescue, and to that purpose We command all Our good Subjects of that Our City to aid and assist you upon their Allegiance, and as they hope for any grace and favour at Our hands; and that you and they kill and slay all such who shall attempt or endeavour to take away the lives of Our said Subjects, and for so doing this shall be your Warrant. And hereof you may not fail at your utmost peril.

Given at Our Court at Oxford *the* 29. *of* May, 1643.

20.

To the City of Gloucester, *A Summons with their Answer,* August 10. 1643.

OUt of Our tender compassion to Our City of *Gloucester*, and that it may not receive prejudice by Our Army, which We cannot prevent, if We be compelled to assault it, We are personally come before it to require the same, and are graciously pleased to grant all the Inhabitants of, and all other persons within that City, as well Soldiers as others, know, That if they shall immediately submit themselves, and deliver this Our City to Us, We are contented freely and absolutely to pardon every one of them without exception;

and doe assure them in the word of a KING, that they nor any of them shall receive the least damage or prejudice by Our Army in their persons or estates; but that We will appoint such a Governor, and a moderate Garrison to reside there, as shall be both for the ease and security of that City and that whole County. But if they shall neglect this profer of grace and favour, and compel Us by the power of Our Army to reduce that place (which by the help of God We doubt not We shall be easily and shortly able to doe) they must thank themselves for all the calamities and miseries must befall them. To this Message We expect a clear & positive Answer within two hours after the publishing thereof. And by these presents doe give leave to any persons safely to repair to, and return from Us, whom that City shall desire to employ unto Us in that business. And doe require all the Officers and Souldiers of Our Army quietly to suffer them to pass accordingly.

August 10. 1643.

WE the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers, and Souldiers within this Garrison of *Glocester*, unto his gracious Message return this humble answer, That We doe keep this City according to Our Oathes and Allegiance to and for the use of his Majesty and his Royal posterity; and doe accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the commands of his Majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament; and are resolved by Gods help to keep this City accordingly.

De. Wise, *Major*, John Brewster, G. Dawstone, Robert Maxwell, Edw. Massie, Co. Ferrer, William Luggo, My. Singleton, T.

mas Hill, Thomas Pury, John Scriven, Nich. Webb, Jo. Dorney, Anth. Edwards, John Halford, Toby Jordan, Hum. Mathews, Iſaac Dobſon, Edward Gray, Charles Blount, Peter Criſpe, Rob. Backhouſe, Ja. Harcus, Thomas Pury, *jun.* Rob. Stevenſon, Tho. Blayney.

21.

To the Inhabitants of Cornwall, *a Letter of thanks, Septemb.* 10. 1643.

From Sudeley-Caſtle.

C. R.

WE are ſo highly ſenſible of the extraordinary merit of Our County of *Cornwall*, of their zeal for the defence of Our perſon, and the juſt Rights of Our Crown, in a time when We could contribute ſo little to Our own defence or to their aſſiſtance; in a time when not only no reward appeared, but great and probable dangers were threatned to obedience and loyalty;) of their great and eminent courage and patience in their indefatigable proſecution of their great work againſt ſo potent an Enemy, backt with ſo ſtrong, rich, and populous Cities, and ſo plentifully furniſhed and ſupplied with Men, Arms, Money, Ammunition and proviſion of all kindes. And of the wonderfull ſucceſſe with which it hath pleaſed Almighty God (though with the loſſe of ſome moſt eminent perſons who ſhall never be forgotten by Us) to reward their loyalty and patience by many ſtrange Victories over their and Our Enemies, in deſpight of all humane probability, and all imaginable diſadvantages; that as we cannot be forgetfull of ſo great deſerts, ſo We cannot but deſire to publiſh to all the World, and perpetuate to all

Time

Time the memory of their merits, and of our acceptance of the same. And to that end, We doe hereby render our Royal thanks to that our County, in the most publick and most lasting manner We can devise, commanding copies hereof to be printed and published, and one of them to be read in every Church and Chappel therein, and to be kept for ever as a Record in the same, That as long as the History of these times, and of this Nation shall continue, The memory of how much that County hath merited from Us and our Crown, may be derived with it to posterity.

Given at Our Camp at Sudely-Castle, *the tenth of* September, 1643.

22.

To the Earl of Essex *at* Lestithiel, *with another Letter to him from the Officers of the King's Army,* August 5. 1644.

From Liskard *in* Cornwall.

ESSEX, I have been very willing to believe, that when ever there should be such a conjuncture as to put it in your power to effect that happy settlement of this miserable Kingdom, which all good men desire, you would lay hold of it. That season is now before you, you have it at this time in your power to redeem your Countrey and the Crown, and to oblige your King in the highest degree, (an action certainly of the greatest piety, prudence, and honour) such an opportunity as perhaps no Subject before you hath ever had, or after you shall have. To which there is no more required, but that you join with me heartily & really in the settling of those things which We have both professed [illegible]

stantly to be Our only aimes. Let Us doe this, and if any shall be so foolishly unnaturall as to oppose their Kings, their Countries and their own good, We will make them happy (by Gods blessing) even against their wils. The only impediment can be want of mutuall confidence; I promise it you on My part, as I have endeavoured to prepare it on yours, by my Letter to *Hertford* from *Evesham*. I hope this will perfect it, when (as I here doe) I shall have engaged unto you the word of a King, that you joyning with Me in that blessed work, I shall give both to you, and your Army such eminent marks of My confidence and valour, as shall not leave a room for the least distrust amongst you, either in relation to the publick, or to your self, unto whom I shall then be

Litchfield, Aug. 6. 1644.

Your faithfull Friend,

C. R.

If you like of this, hearken to this bearer, whom I have fully instructed in particulars, but this will admit of no delay.

My Lord,

WE having obtained his Majesties leave to send this to your Lordship shall not repeat the many gracious Messages Endeavours, and Declarations which his Majesty hath made, and have been so solemnly protested in the presence of God and Men. That we wonder how the most scrupulous can make any doubt of the real, and Royall performance of them. But we must, before this approaching occasion, tell your Lordship, that we bear arms for this end only, to defend His Majesties known Rights, the Laws of the Kingdom, the Liberties of

of the Subject, the priviledge of the Parliament and the true Protestant Religion, against Popery and popish Innovations: And thinking the professed cause of your Lordships taking arms, we are confident, that concurring in the same opinions and pretences, we shall not by an unnaturall war weaken the main strength of this Kingdom, and advance the designe of our common enemies, who long since have devoured us in their hopes. My Lord, the exigent of the time will not suffer us to make any laboured Declarations of our intentions, but only this, That on the faith of Subjects, the honour and reputation of Gentlemen and Souldiers, we will with our lives maintain that which his Majesty shal publickly promise in order to a bloodlesse peace; nor shall it be in the power of any private person to divert this resolution of ours: and the same we expect from you: And now we must take leave to protest, That if this our proffer be neglected (which we make neither in fear of your power, nor diffidence of our own, but only touched with the approaching miseries of our Nation) The what calamities shall oppresse posterity, will lye heavy upon the souls and consciences of those that shall decline this Overture; which we cannot hope so seasonably to make again this Conjuncture be let goe: And therefore is desired, that your Lordship, and six other persons, may meet our generall to morrow in such an indifferent place as you shall think fit attended with as many; or if you shall find that any way inconvenient to come in person That then your Lordship will appoint such so many to meet with the like number from hence, that may consider of all means possible to reconcile these unhappy differences and misunderstandings that have so long afflicted this Kingdom. And for the security of your Lordship, and those that shall come with, and be employed by your Lordship we doe engage our Fa-

Faith and Honour, and doe expect the same from your Lordship, desiring withall your very speedy Answer, which must be a guide to proceedings; Concluding, That if this shall be refused, we shall hold our selves justified before God and Men, whatsoever shall be the successe. So we rest

From the Army the 8 of *August*, 1644.

Your Lordships humble Servants,

Maurice, Tho. Wentworth, Lindsey, Lo. Hopton, Northampton, Cleaveland, Tho. Blagge, Jos. Bamfeild, Anthony Thelwell, Joh. Owen, Tho Stradling, Robert Howard. John Stocker, Edw. Porter, Gilbert Armestrong, Rich. Nevel, Tho. Pigat, Jo. Browne, Ad. Scroope, Amy Pollard, Ja. Hamilton, Richard Thornhil, Jo. Topping, Ja. Dundasse, Gyles Strangewayes, R. Smith James Carey, Brainford, Percey, Jacob Asteley, Richard Cave, Bar. Stewart, Barnard Astley, Theo. Gilby, Will. Leighton, Will. Murrey, Tho. Blackwel, Tho. Bellingham, Richard Page, Bar. Jenkes, Hen. Miller, Rich. Fielding, Tho Weston, Paul Smith, G. Mouldsworth, Phil. Honywood, Tho. Culpeper, William Leake, Jo. Luntler, Jo. Monk, Cha. Fawlke, Rich. Samuell, Arth. Kingsby, Geo. Goring, Joseph Wagstaff, Tho. Basset, Char. Lloid, Geo. Lisley, Will. Saint Leger, Hen. Lundesford, Barth. Pel, Hen. Shelley, Tho Pawlet, Thom. Kyrton, Anthony Brochet, Devery Leigh, David Stringer, Ja. Mowbray, Cha. Compton, Ed. Nott, Alex. Randish, Jo. Ridech, Jo. Steward Jo. Gambling, Jo. Grienvile, Arth. Heningham, Ja. Hassell, W. Maxwell.

To

23.

To Prince Rupert, *after the losse of* Bristoll, Auguſt 3. 1645.

C. R.

NEphew, this is occaſioned by a letter of yours, which the Duke of *Richmond* ſhewed Me yeſternight. And firſt I aſſure you, I have been, and ever will be very carefull to advertiſe you of my reſolutions, ſo ſoon as they were taken; and if I enjoyned ſilence to that which was no ſecret, it was not My fault, for I thought it one, and I am ſure it ought to have been ſo. Now as for your opinion of My obſtineſſe, and your counſel thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence of My Religion, Crown and Friends, you had full reaſon for your advice. For I confeſſe, that ſpeaking either as a meer Souldier or Stateſman, I muſt ſay there is no probability but of My ruine: but as a Chriſtian I muſt tell you, that God will not ſuffer Rebels and Traitors to proſper, nor this cauſe to be overthrown. And whatſoever perſonall punithment it ſhall pleaſe him to inflict upon Me, muſt not make me repine, much leſſe give over this quarrell; and there is as little queſtion that a compoſition with them at this time is nothing elſe but a ſubmiſſion, which by the grace of God I am reſolved againſt, whatſoever it coſt me; for I know My obligation to be both in conſcience and honour neither to abandon Gods cauſe, injure My Succeſſors, nor forſake My Friends: Indeed I cannot flatter My ſelf with expectation of good ſucceſſe, more than this, to end My dayes with honour and a good conſcience which obliges Me to continue My endeavours in not deſpairing that God may yet in due time avenge his own cauſe, though I muſt aver to all My Friends, that he that will ſtay with Me at this

time

time, must expect and resolve either to dye for a good cause, or (which is worse) to live as miserable in maintaining it, as the violence of insolting Rebels can make him.

Having thus truly and impartially stated My case unto you, and plainly told you my resolutions, which by the grace of God I will not alter, they being neither lightly, or suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you, not in any wise to hearken now after Treaties, assuring you, that as low as I am, I will doe no more than was offered in my name at *Uxbridge*, confessing, that it were as a great miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be within a moneth in the same condition that I was immediately before the battell at *Naseby*. Therefore for Gods sake let Us not flatter Our selves with these conceits. And believe Me, the very imagination, that you are desirous of a Treaty, will but lose Me so much the sooner: Wherefore, as you love Me, whatsoever you have already done, apply your discourse hereafter according to My resolution and judgement.

As for the *Irish*, I assure you, they shall not cheat Me, but it is possible they may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I have refused to the *English*, I will not grant to the *Irish* Rebels, never trusting to that kinde of people (of what Nation soever) more than I see by their action. And I am sending to *Ormond* such a dispatch as I am sure will please you and all honest men; a copy whereof, by the next opportunity you shall have. Lastly, be confident, I would not have put you nor My Self to the trouble of this long Letter, had I not a great estimation of you, and a full confidence of your friendship to

Charls R.

Oxford, August 3. 1645.

To

25.

To the Marquesse of Ormond, April 3. 1646.

From Oxford.

C. R.

RIght trusty and entirely beloved Cou
and Councellor, We greet you well
Having all possible and honourable means
sending many gracious Messages to the
Houses of Parliament, wherein We have
ed them all they have heretofore desired
desire from them nothing but what they
selves (since these unhappy wars) have
to procure Our personall Treaty with them
a safe and well grounded Peace: and having
stread of a dutifull and peaceable returne
said Messages received either no answer
or such as argues nothing will satisfie them
the ruine not only of Us, Our Posterity
Friends, but even of Monarchy it self:
having lately received very good security
We, and all that doe or shall adhere to Us
be safe in Our persons, honours, and consciences
in the *Scottish* Army, and that they shall
and effectually joyn with Us, and with
will come in unto Us, and joyn with them
Our preservation, and shall imploy their
mies and Forces to assist Us to the procu
of a happy, and well grounded peace,
the good of Us and Our Kingdoms, in the
covery of Our just right, We have resolved
put Our selves to the hazard of passing into
Scots Army, now lying before *Newark*: And
it shall please God, that We come safe thither
We are resolved to use Our best endeav
with their assistance, and with the conjunc
of the Forces under the Marquesse of *Mon*
trosse, and such of Our well-affected Sub
of *England* as shall rise for Us, to procure

may be, an honourable and speedy peace with those who hitherto refused to give ear to any means tending thereunto: of which Our resolution We held it necessary to give you this advertisement, as well to satisfie you and all Our Councel and loyal Subjects with you (to whom We will that you communicate these Our Letters) yet failing in Our earnest and sincere endeavours by Treaty, to put an end to the miseries of these Kingdomes, We esteemed Our Self obliged to leave no probable expedient unattempted to preserve Our Crown and Friends, from the usurpation and tyranny of those whose actions declare so manifestly their designes, to overthrow the Laws and happy established Government of this Kingdome. And now We have made known to you Our resolution, We recommend to your special care the disposing and managing of Our affairs on that side, as that you shall conceive best for Our honour and service, being confident the course We have taken (though with some hazard to Our Person) will have a good influence on that Our Kingdom, and defeat, if not altogether prevent, the Rebels transporting of Forces from them into that Kingdom. And We desire you to satisfie all Our well affected subjects on that side; of Our Princely care of them, whereof they shall receive the effect, as soon as God shall enable Us. We desire you to use some means to let Us and Our Councel often hear frequently from you, and of your actions and condition there. And so God prosper your loyal endeavours.

Given at *Our Court* at Oxon, April 3. 1646.

To

26.

To the Prince *of* Wales, June 2. 1646.

From Newcastle.

Charls,

THis is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well, then at this time to direct you any thing, I having wrote fully to your Mother what I would have you to doe; whom I command you to obey in every thing except in Religion; concerning which I am confident she will not trouble you: and see that you goe not any whither without her or my particular directions. Let Me hear often from you, and so God blesse you.

Newcastle, June 2.
1646.

Your loving Father

Charls R

If *Jock Ashburnham* come where you are, command him to wait upon you, as he was wont, untill I shall send for him, if you Mother and you be together, if not, he may wait on her.

Oliver Mainel,
Lanerick.

Superscribed,

For my Sonne the Prince.

To

26.

To the Marquesse of Ormond, June 11. 1646.

From Newcastle.

C. R.

Right trusty, &c. Having long with much grief looked upon the sad condition our Kingdom of *Ireland* hath been in these divers years through the wicked and desperate Rebellion there, and the bloody effects have ensued thereupon; for the settling whereof We would have wholly applied our Selves, if the difference betwixt Us and our Subjects here had not diverted and withdrawn us: and having been able by force (for that respect) to reduce them, We were necessitated for the present safety of our Protestant Subjects there, to give you power and authority to treat with them, upon such pious, honourable, and safe grounds as the good of that our Kingdome did then require. But for many reasons too long for a Letter, We think fit to require you to proceed no further in treaty with the Rebels, nor to engage Us upon any conditions with them after sight hereof. And having formerly found such real proofs of your ready obedience to our commands, We doubt not of your care in this, wherein our service and the good of our Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, is so much concerned.

From Newcastle, *June* 11. 1646.

27.

To the Governours of his Majesties Garrisons, June 10. 1646. *From* Newcastle.

This is added to His Majesties tweny fourth Message for peace, where the Reader may finde it.

To

28.

To the Duke of York, July 4. 1647.

From Cawsham.

C. R.

JAmes, I am in hope, that you may be permitted, with your Brother and Sister, to come to some place, betwixt this and London, where I may see you.

To this end therefore I command you to ask leave of the two Houses, to make a journey (if it may be) for a night or two.

But rather than not to see you, I will be content that ye come to some convenient place to dine, and goe back at night.

And foreseeing the fear of your being brought within the power of the Army, as may be objected, to hinder this My desire.

I have full assurance from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the chief Officers, that there will be no interruption, or impediment, made by them, for your return, how, and when you please. *So God blesse you.*

Causam, July 4. 1647.

Your loving Father,
Charls R.

POST-SCRIPT.

Send Me word as soon as you can of the time and place where I shall have the contentment of seeing you, your Brother, and Sister.

29.

To Colonel Whaley, *November* 11. 1647.

From Hampton-Court.

COlonel *Whaley*; I have been so civily used by you and Major *Huntington*, that I cannot but by this parting farewel acknowledge it under My hand; as also to desire the continuance of your courtesie, by your protecting of My Houshold-stuff and Moveables of all sorts, which I leave behinde Me in this House, that they be neither spoiled nor imbessel; only there are three Pictures here which are not mine, that I desire you to restore, to wit, My Wifes Picture in brew sitting in a Chair, you must send to Mrs. *Kirk*. My eldest Daughters Picture, copied by *Bellin*, to the Countesse of *Anglesey*, and my Lady *Stanhops* Picture to *Carey Rawley*; there is a fourth which I had almost forgot, it is the original of My eldest Daughter (it hangs in this Chamber over the board next to the Chimney) which you must send to my Lady *Aubigny*. So being confident that you wish My preservation and restitution, I rest

Your Friend,

CHARLS R.

I assure you it was not the Letter you shewed Me to day, that made Me take this resolution, nor any advertisement of that kinde; but I confesse that I am loath to be made a close prisoner, under pretence of securing My Person. I had almost forgot to desire you to send the black Grew-Bitch to the Duke of *Richmond*.

30.

To the Lord Mountague, November 11. 1642.
From Hampton-Court, *with a Letter from* E. R. *to His Majesty*, Novemb 9. 1642.

MOuntague, First I doe hereby give you and the rest of your fellowes thanks for the civilities and good conversation that I have had from you; next I command you to send this My Message (which you will finde upon this Table) to the two Houses of Parliament and likewise to give a copy of it to Colonel *Whaley*, to be sent to send to the General; likewise I desire you to send all My Saddle-Horses to My Son the Duke of *York*: as for what concerns the resolution that I have taken My declaratory Message sayes so much that I refer you to it; and so I rest

Your assured Friend,

Charles R.

May it please your Majesty,

IN discharge of my duty I cannot omit to acquaint you, that my Brother was at a meeting last night with eight or nine Agitators who in debate of the Obstacle which did most hinder the speedy effecting of their designe did conclude it was your Majesty, and as long as your Majesty doth live you would be so; and therefore resolved, for the good of the Kingdome, to take your life away. And to that action they were well assured that Master *Dell*, and Master *Peters* (two of the Preachers) would willingly bear them company; for they had often said to these Agitators your Majesty is but a dead Dog: My pray-

re for your Majesties safety; but doe too much fear it cannot be whilest you are in those hands.

I wish with my soul your Majesty were at my house in *Broadstreet*, where I am confident I could keep You private till this storme were over; but beg Your Majesties pardon, and shall not presume to offer it as an advice; it is only my constant zeal to Your Service, who am

Your Majesties dutifull Subject,

November 9. 1647. *E. R.*

31.

To Sir Thomas Fairfax, November 26. 1647.

From Carisbrook-Castle.

R.

HAving left order at our remove from *Hampton-Court*, that a copy should be given you, of what We had then written to both Houses of Parliament touching the causes of our withdrawing, and the continuance of our resolutions to improve every occasion of the satisfaction of all chief interests, that so a safe peace may be settled in our Dominions: In pursuance whereof, We have lately sent a Message to both Houses from this place, and a Copy of it to you; and being desirous in order to that blessed work, to give you our present sense upon the condition of affairs as they now stand: We have thought fit to appoint Sir *John Barckley* to repair unto you, and to communicate the same to you: And We shall desire by him to receive a mutuall communication of your sense also, upon this Subject; not doubting but you easily perceive by this

late disorders; into what a depth of confusion the Army and the Nation will fall, if timely and effectual preventions be not used, and therefore we have now again proposed (as the only expedient) a personal Treaty, for the composing of all differences, and fulfilling the desires of all interests; to which if you will imploy your credit, as you cannot but expect the blessings of God upon your endeavours therein; so may you justly look for the best return that ever our condition shall be able to make you.

Given at Carisbrook-Castle, Nov. 26. 164[illegible]
For Sir Thomas Fairfax *Gen*[illegible]

32.

To Sir Thomas Fairfax, November 27. 164[illegible]
From Carisbrook-Castle.

Charles R.

THe free liberty which you willingly [illegible] forded Us, to have of the use of [illegible] Chaplains, makes Us at this time not only [illegible] acknowledge your former civilities, but [illegible] wise now to acquaint you that three of [illegible] Chaplains, to wit, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Ha*[illegible]*worth*, and Dr. *Haywood*, are newly land[illegible] this Isle, not doubting but they shall have [illegible] same protection that formerly they had, [illegible] still will shew the continuation of your [illegible] respect unto Us, which We upon all fitting [illegible]casions shall not be backward to acknowle[illegible] So We bid you heartily farewel.

Given at Carisbrook-Castle, Nov. 27. [illegible]
For Sir Thomas Fairfax *G*[illegible]

33.

To the Lords, Gentlemen, and Committee of the Scotch Parliament, together with the Officers of the Army, July 3. 1648.

From Carisbrook-Castle.

MY Lords and Gentlemen: It is no small comfort to Me, that My native Country hath so true a sense of My present condition, as I finde expressed by your Letter of the eighth of this moneth, and your Declaration, both which I received upon Friday last, and the very same reason which makes you discreetly and generously, at this time, forbear to press any thing to Me, hinders Me likewise to make any particular professions unto you, lest it may be imagined that desire of liberty should now be the only Secretary to my thoughts: Yet thus much I cannot but say; that, as in all humane reason, nothing but a *free personal Treaty* with Me, can settle the unhappy distractions of these distressed Kingdoms: So, if that could once be had I would not doubt, but that (by the grace of God) a happy peace would soon follow. Such force (I believe) true reason has in the hearts of all men, when it may be clearly and calmly heard; and I am not ashamed, at all times to professe, that it hath, and so shall it alwayes want of understanding, not of will, to doe not yeeld to reason, whensoever, and from whomsoever I hear it: and it were a strange thing if reason should be lesse esteemed, because it comes from Me, which (truly) I do not expect from you: your Declaration coming to Me, (and I hope your actions will prove, that I am not deceived) to be so well grounded upon *Honour* and *Justice* that albeit in way of opinion, I cannot give a *Placet* to every Clause in it; Yet I am confident upon a fair and friendly debate We shall very well

agree. To conclude; I cannot (for the present) better shew my thankfulnesse to you, for the generous and loyal expressions of your affections to Me, then by giving you My honest and sincere advice, which is, realy and constantly, without seeking private ends, to pursue the publique professions in your Declaration, as sincere Christians and good Subjects ought to doe, alwayes remembring, that as the best foundation of Loyalty is Christianity; so true Christianity teaches perfect Loyalty, for without this reciprocation, neither is truly what they pretend to be: But I am both confident that needs not to you, as likewise that you will rightly understand this which is affectionately intended by your assured Friend,

Charles R.

Carisbrook: Munday 31. July 1648.

His MAJESTIES PRIVATE LETTERS to the QUEEN and others:

With the QUEENS Letters to His MAJESTY, intercepted and publiſhed by the Parliament: With His MAJESTIES Letter to Secretary NICHOLAS concerning the publiſhing of them, and part of one of His MAJESTIES Declarations concerning the ſame.

herein doe evidently appear to His MAJESTIES Honour (contrary to the intention of the firſt Publiſhers) His MAJESTIES Princely Wiſdom, and Piety, with the Reality and Truth of His publick profeſsions; and that His ends were only the peace and happineſs of His Subjects, by their ſubmiſsion to His juſt Regal Power.

His Majesties Letter to Secretary Nicholas, *concerning the Parliaments intercepting and publishing His Letters.*

Cardiffe Aug. 4. 1645.

Nicholas,

HAving commanded your fellow Secretary to give you a full account, as well of Our proceedings here as resolutions, I will neither trouble you nor My Self with repetitions; only for My Self, I must desire you to let every one know, that no distresses of Fortune whatsoever shall make Me, by the grace of God, in any thing recede from those grounds I laid down to you who were My Commissioners at *Uxbridge*, and which (I thank the) the Rebels have published in print: though I could have wished their pains had been spared, yet I will neither deny that those things are Mine, which they have set out in My Name, (only some words here and there mistaken, and some Comma's misplaced, not much material) nor, as a good Protestant or honest man, blush for any of those principles. Indeed, as a discreet man, I will not justify My Self; and yet I would fain know any who would be willing, that the freedom of all his private Letters were publickly known as Mine have now been. However, so that clause be rightly understood, I care not though the rest take their fortune: It concerning the Mongrel Parliament. Then that *Sussex* his factiousnesse at that time put Me somewhat out of Patience, which made Me freely vent My displeasure against all of his party to My Wife: and the sum of that phrase was, that his Faction did what they could to make it come to that, by raising and fomenting of base propo-

This is clearly evidenced by My following excuse to her, for suffering those people to trouble her, the reason being to eschew those greater inconveniences which they had, and were more likely to cause here, than there. I am now going to supper, and so I rest

Your most assured Friend,

Charls R.

Part of His Majesties *Declaration of* June 3. 1643. *concerning some of the said Letters intercepted and published* 1643.

BUt they have found a Letter of His Majesties to the Queen, which shews that the great and eminent places of the Kingdome are disposed of by her advice, (and then conclude from her Religion, that they are by consequence disposed of by the advice of Papists and Jesuits) and that the persons there named, even during the sitting of the Parliament, are either all impeacht by them, or bear arms against them. To this his Majesty replyes: 1. That He cannot but deplore the condition of the Kingdom, when Letters of all sorts of Husbands to Wives, even of his Majesty to His Royal Consort are intercepted, read, brought in Evidence, and publisht to the World. 2. That if they will remember how far many of those persons of both sexes, who have received most notable marks of favour from her Majesty, are even in their own opinion, from so much as inclining to Popery; they must confesse her favours and recommendations not to be disposed of by Papists and Jesuits. 3. That the places there named in which her Majesties advice may seem to be desired, are not places (as they call it)

of the Kingdome, but private menial place a Treasurer of the Houshold, a Captain of the Pensioners, and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber; That concerning the other many publique places, His Majesty absolutely declares Himself, without leaving room for advice, which seems to prove the contrary that, which by this they intend to prove. 4. That of the persons there named, there is not one that either is a Papist, or so like one that a Jesuit may be thought to have recommended him, nor any one (except the Lord *Digby*) that was either impeacht, or otherwise taxt, or that could appear to his Majesty to have ever been in any degree dislikt by both or either House, before assisting his Majesty against a Rebellion did lately become Treason: And whosoever considers the time and other circumstances even of that impeachment, and that their eyes were then so dazzled with Fears and Jealousies, as to take a Coach and six Horses for an Army raised against them, will hardly look upon that impeachment with that reverence which has usually been paid to accusations of that kind. And for their bearing of arms in such a time wherein all his Majesties Subjects doe either bear or assist arms either for or against Him, He supposes that it will not be thought strange if He choose persons for such places as are at His own disposal rather out of the first sort than out of the second.

And as his Majesty hath fully answered their observations upon His Letters, so He believes that one thing more (though unobserved by this Declaration) cannot but be observed out of them by His people; and that is, That in his Majesties most private Letters to the person neerest to Him, wherein He could not (as by some in His publick Declarations He is) be suspected to say any thing out of Designe or policy, His own clear perswasion, the

the Rebels, and not He, have been the cause and are the Fosterers of this war and universal distraction, and His sense of it, and His desire of the end of it, are so plainly expresst, that they will by this accident be much satisfied with his Majesties innocence and reality, and believe that the reading this in such a Letter, is the very next degree to reading it in His heart.

V.

To the Queen, *January* 23. 1642. Oxford.

DEar Heart, Saturday and Sunday last, I received two from thee, of the 29 of *December*, 9. of *January*, both which gave Me such contentment, as thou mayest better judge, than I describe; the which that thou mayest the better doe, know, I was full three weeks wanting but one day, without hearing from thee, besides skurvy *London* news of thy ly and lameness, which though I did not believe, yet it vext Me so much the more, that I could not prove them liars: So now I conjure thee by the affections thou beareſt Me, not only to judge, but likewise participate with Me in the contentment thou hast given Me by assuring Me of thy health and speedy return, concerning 45. 31. 7. 4. 132. 200. I will answer thee in thine own words, *Je le remettrai en vous respondre per bouche*, being confident that way to give thee contentment: in the mean time assure thy Self, That I neither have, nor will lose any time in that business, and that I have not contented my Self with Generals: And though I hope shortly to have the happiness of thy company, yet I must tell thee some particulars in which I desire both thy opinion and assistance: I am persecuted concerning places, and all desire to be put upon

thee, for the which I cannot blame them: and yet thou knoweſt I have no reaſon to do it. *Newark* deſireth *Savills* place, upon condition, to leave it when his Father dieth; *Cromworth*, the ſame, being contented to pay for it, or give the profit to whom or how I pleaſe: *Digby* and *Thinſmore*, for to be Captain of the Pentioners, *Hartford* once looked after it; but now I believe he expects either to be Treaſurer, or of My Bed-chamber; I incline rather to the latter, if thou like it, for I abſolutely hold *Cottington* the fitteſt man for the other. There is one that doth not yet pretend, but doth deſerve as well as any, I mean *Cope*; therefore I deſire thy aſſiſtance to finde ſome what for him before he ask. One place I ſtill reſerve I can have thy opinion, It is the Maſter of the Wards; I have thought upon *Nicholas*, being confident that thou wilt not miſlike My choice and if he cannot perform both, *Ned Hyde* muſt be Secretary, for indeed I can truſt no other. Now I have no more time to ſpeak of more, but to deſire thee not to engage thy Self for any: So I reſt eternally thine,

Dated Oxford 20. *Feb.* 23. *Jan.*

6.

2.

To the Queen, *March* 2. 1642. Oxford.

DEar Heart, Though ever ſince Sunday laſt, I had good hopes of thy having Lindſey, yet I had not the certain newes thereof, before yeſterday, when I likewiſe underſtood of thy ſafe coming to *York*: I hope thou expecteſt not welcome from Me in words, when I ſhall be wanting in any other way, according to My wit and power; of expreſ-

My love to thee, then let all honest men hate and eschue Me, like a Monster: And yet when I shall have done My part, I confesse, that I shall come short of what thou deservest of Me.

H. 3. 189. *e* 3. 42. 17. 25. 27. 39. 21. 66. *k* 1. 45. 31. 7. 4. 32. 18. 47. 46. 9. 3. *d* 4. 34. 46. 35. 67. 68. 7. 40. 5. 43. 74. 8. 41. 7. 33. 62. 8. 63. 68. 50. 64. 34. 9. 51. 45. 69. 46. 37. *deer* 45. 31. 7. 1. 33. 18. 49. 47. 19. 31. 10. 70. 13. 7. 45. 58. 8. 9. 41. 10. *this* 2. 2 34. *in the mean time* 46. 31. 7. 50. 13. 30. 3. 6. 8. 48. 75. 41. 9. 2. *upon* 60. 19. 50. 61. 27. 26. 7. 69. 12. 19. 47. 45. 8. 24. Yesterday there was Articles of a Cessation brought Me from *London*, but so unreasonable that I cannot grant them: yet to undeceive the people, by shewing it is not I, but those who have caused and fostered this Rebellion, that desire the continuance of this war and universal distraction: I am framing Articles fit for that purpose, both which, by My next, I mean to send thee, 219. *b* 3. 58. 5 1. 75. 46. 7. 3. 45. 37. 2. 189. 46. 38. 1. *g* 1. 173. 131. *which I think fit to be done*, *a* 5. 4. 30. 3. 45. *d* 3. 46. 31. 8. 10. 232. 18. 64. 7. 3. 45. 31. 9 66. 46. 32. 19. 41. 25. 49. *k* 1. *e* 4. 67. 69. 63. I am now confident that 131. is right for My service: Since the taking of *Cicester* there is nothing of note done of either side, wherefore that little news that is I leave to others; only this I assure thee, That the distractions of the Rebels are such, that so many fine designes are laid open to Us, We know not which first to undertake: but certainly My first and chiefest care is, and shall be to secure thee, and hasten Our Meeting: So longing to hear from thee, I rest eternally thine.

Oxford, 12. *March*, 1642. *C. R.*

The last I received of thine was dated the 16. and 9. *Febr.* and I believe none of My four last are come to thee; their dates are 13. and 3. 21. and 13. 25. and 15. *Feb.* and 20. *Feb.* 6 *March* 2.

3.

To the Queen. *February* 13. 1643.

DEar Heart, I never till now knew the good of ignorance, for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the storm, before I had certain assurance of thy happy escape; We having had a pleasing false report of thy safe landing at *Newcastle*, which time of the 19. of *January* so confirmed Us in, that We, at least were not undeceived of that hope, till We knew certainly how great a danger thou hast past, of which I shall not be out of apprehension, untill I may have the happiness of thy company, for indeed I think it not the least of My misfortunes, that for My sake thou hast run so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much love to Me, that I confesse it is impossible to repay, by any thing I can doe, much lesse by words; but My heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by thee, out of thine own noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee, of the 23 of *February* has bred great discourse in several persons, and of several kindes as My saying I was persecuted for places, is applyed to all, and only those that I there name to be Suitors; whereas the truth is, I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time I had not time to name, as well as some there mentioned: for I confesse 174. and 139. are not guilty of that fault: some finde fault with too much kindnesse to thee (thou must easily vote from what constellation that comes,) but I assure such, that I want expression, not will, to doe it ten times more to thee on all occasions: others presse Me as being brought upon the Stage; but I answer, that having profest to have thy advice, it were

wrong to thee to doe any thing before I had it. As for Our treaty (leaving the particulars to this Inclosed) I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning My part in it; for all the Souldiers are well pleased with what I have done, but expect no cessation of Arms; for the Lower House will have none without a disbanding, and I will not disband till all be agreed: Lastly, for Our military affairs, I thank God that here, and in the West they prosper well; as for the North, I referre thee to 220. 240 information: So daily expecting, and praying for good newes from thee, &c.

Copy to my Wife. 13. Febr. 1643.

Oxford, 13. *Febr.* 1643.

a true Copy,
Zouche Tate.

4.

To the Queen, *January* 1. 1644. Oxford.

Oxford *Jan.* 1. 1644.

Dear heart, I receive it as a good Augure thus to begin this new year, having newly received thine of the 30 of *December*, which cannot stay to decipher, for not losing this opportunity, it likewise being a just excuse for this short account: This day I have dispatched Digby, fully relating the state of Our affairs; therefore I only shall now tell thee, that the Rebels are ingaged into an equall treaty, without any of those disadvantages which might have been apprehended, when *Tom Elliot* went away; and that the distractions of *London* were never so great, or so likely to bring good effect, as now. Lastly that assistance was never more needfull;

needfull, never so likely as now to doe good
him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, 1. Jan. 1644. by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined
Miles Cor

5.

To the Queen, *Jan.* 9. 1644. Oxford.

Oxford, *Jan.* 9.

DEar heart, since My last, which was
Tolbot, the Scots Commissioners ha
sent to desire Me to send a Commission to
Generall Assembly in *Edenburgh*, which I
resolved not to doe; but to the end of ma
some use of this occasion, by sending an h
man to *London*; and that I may have the m
time for the making an handsome negative
have demanded a passeport for *Philip War*
by whom to return My answer. I forgot in
former to tell thee, that *Lenthall* the Spe
brags, that Cardinall *Mazarin* keeps a frie
telligence with him; Though I will not
that *Lenthall* sayes true, I am sure it is fi
thee to know. As for *Sabrian*, I am co
that either he or his instructions are not rig
him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertised from *London*,
there are three or four Lords, and eight C
mons (besides four Scotch Commissioners
pointed to treat, and they have named
Bridge for the place, though not yet the p
cular persons. I am likewise newly adve
sed that Generall *Goring* prospers well w
he is, and since Munday last hath taken 8o o
Rebels Horse: and upon his advance they
quitted *Peterfield* and *Condy*.

POS

POST-SCRIPT.

The settling of Religion, and the Militia, are the first to be treated on: and be confident, that I will neither quit Episcopacy, nor that sword which God hath given into My hands.

Copy to my Wife, 9. Jan. 1644. by P. A.

This is a true Copy, examined by
Edm. Prideaux.

6.

To the Queen, *January* 14. 1644. Oxford.

Dear heart,

POsly came the 12. and 22. of *Januar.* to whose great dispatch, though for some dayes I cannot give a full answer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to some thing in thy Letter, not without relating to something of his discourse.

As I confesse it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftner from Me, so excuse Me to deny, that it cannot be of so ill consequence as thou mentionest, if their affections were so real, as they make shew of to thee; for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each Letter will shew my diligence; and certainly there goes no great wit to finde out wayes of sending; wherefore if any be neglected more, then Our wits are faulty: but to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired that every one should know (excuse Me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not believe, that any can think it though he say it: And for My affecti-

on

on to thee, it will not be the miscarrying of a Letter or two that will call it in question; But take heed, that these discourses be not rather the effect of their wearinesse of thy company, then the true image of their thoughts; And if this is not the proposall of thy journey to *Ireland* a pretty instance? For seriously of itself I hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard, thy giving ear to it being most assuredly only to expresse thy love to Me and not thy judgement in My affairs. As for the businesse it self (I mean the peace of *Ireland*) to shew thee the care I have had of it and the fruits I hope to receive from it; I have sent thee the last dispatches I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thy self; only thou mayest in general let the Q. Regent and Ministers there understand, that I have offered My Irish Subjects so good satisfaction, that a peace will shortly ensue, which I really believe. But for God sake let none know the particulars of My dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholding to the Portugall Agent (and little to the French) it being by his means that I have sent thee all My Letters (besides expresses) since I came hither, though I expected most from *Sabran*.

'I will not trouble thee with repetition 'of news, *Diglies* dispatch which I have sent 'being so full that I can adde nothing; yet 'cannot but paraphrase a little upon that 'which he calls his superstitious observation. 'It is this, nothing can be more evident 'then that *Strafford's* innocent blood hath been 'one of the great causes of Gods just judge'ments upon this Nation by a furious civil 'war, both sides hitherto being almost equally 'punished, as being in a manner equally guilty 'but now this last crying blood, being totally 'theirs, I believe it is no presumption hereafter 'to hope, that his hand of justice must

'heavy

heavier upon them, and lighter upon Us, looking new upon Our Cause, having passed by Our faults.

This is a true Copy, examined by
Edm. Prideaux.

7.

To the Queen, January 22, 1644. Oxford.

DEar Heart, Since My last by *Shoquen* I have had no means of writing, and as little new matter: That which is now, is the progresse of the Treaty, of which, these enclosed papers will give thee a full account: But if thou have them sooner from *London* then Me, thou hast no reason to wonder, considering the length and uncertainty of the way I am forced to send by in respect of the other: For the businesse it self, I believe thou wilt approve of My choice of Treaters, and for My propositions they differ nothing in substance (very little in words) from those which were last; wherefore need to say nothing of them: And for My instructions they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them: Now upon the whole matter I desire thee to shew the Queen and Ministers there, the improbability that this present Treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the Rebels propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, untill they be out of hopes to prevail by force, which a little assistance by thy means, will soon make them be: For I am confident, if ever I could put them in a defensive (which a reasonable sum of monie would doe) they would be easily brought to reason. Concerning Our *Interferings here at* Oxford, I desire thee to suspend thy judgement,

ment, (for I believe few but partial [illegible] will come to thee) until I shall [illegible] whom I may trust by word of mouth; it [illegible] too much trouble to Us both to set [illegible] down in paper.

Copy to my Wife 22. Jan. 1644.

This is a true copy examined by
Miles Corbet.

8.

To the Queen, *January* 30. 1644. Oxford.

Dear Heart,

Sunday last I received three Letters from thee; one a Duplicate of the 30. Dec. another of the 6. *Jan.* and the last of the 14. *Jan.* and even now one *Petis* is come with a Duplicate of the last; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of Me, so I must extremely wonder, that any who pretend to be a friend to Our Cause (for I believe thou wouldest not mention any information from the other side) can invent such lies, that thou hast had ill Offices done to Me by any; or that they care for My assistance hath been the least suspected, it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God I never heard thee spoken of but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to Me, and particularly for thy diligent care for My assistance: But I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more than a bare suspicion: And indeed, if I were to finde fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of My assistance, at least not giving Me so often account of it as I desire [illegible]

ſe three laſt, making no mention of thy Self. Now as for the Treaty (which begins this day,) I deſire thee to be confident, that I ſhall never make a Peace by abandoning My friends, nor ſuch an one as will not ſtand with My honour and ſafety; of which I will ſay no more, becauſe knowing thy love, I am ſure thou muſt believe Me, and make others likewiſe confident of Me.

I ſend thee here with My directions to My Commiſsioners, but how I came to make them my Self without any others *Digby* will tell thee, with all the news, as well concerning Military as Cabaliſticall matters. At this time I will ſay no more, but that I ſhall in all things (only not anſwering for words) truly ſhew my Self to be eternally thine.

The Portugal Agent hath made Me two propoſitions: Firſt, concerning the releaſe of his Maſters Brother, for which I ſhall have 300000 l. if I can procure his liberty from the King of *Spain*; the other is for a marriage betwixt My Sonne *Charls* and his Maſters eldeſt Daughter: For the firſt I have freely undertaken to doe what I can, and for the other, I will *give ſuch an anſwer as ſhall ſignifie nothing.*

I deſire thee not to give too much credit to *Sabrons* relations, nor much countenance to the Irish Agents in *Paris*, the particular reaſons thou ſhalt have by *Pooly*, (whom I intend for My next Meſſenger.) In the laſt place I recommend to thee the care of *Gerſey* and *Geneſey*, it being impoſsible for Us here to doe much, though We were rich, being weak at Sea.

To my Wife, 30. Jan. 164$\frac{5}{4}$ by Legge.

This is a true copy examined by
Edm. Prideaux.

To

9.

To the Queen, *March* 13. 1644. Oxford.

Dear Heart,

WHat I told thee the last week concerning a good parting with Our Lords and Commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed, and now, if I doe nothing unhandsome or disadvantagious to My Self or Friends, in order to a Treaty it will be meerly My own fault, for I confesse when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the Treaty (knowing that there were great labouring to that purpose:) But now I promise thee, *If it be renewed, (which I believe will not without some eminent good successe on My side) it shall be to My honour and advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say, Our Mungrel Parliament here) as of the chief causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee for having suffered thee to be vexed by them,* Wilmot being already there, *Percy* on his way, and *Sussex* within few dayes taking his journey to thee, but that I know thou careſt not for a little trouble to free Me from great inconveniences; yet I must tell thee, that if I knew not the perfect steadiness of thy love to Me, I might reasonably apprehend, that their repair to thee would rather prove a change than an end of their villanies: and I cannot deny, but My confidence in thee, was some cause of this permissive trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the third of *March* by which thou putst Me in hope of assistance of Men and Money, and it is no little expresson of thy love to Me, that (because of My business) Festivals are troublesome to thee *But I see that Assemblies in no Countries are very agree-*

able

ble to thee and it may be done a purpose to make thee weary of their companies, and excuse Me to tell thee in earnest, that it is no wonder, that meer Statesmen should desire to be rid of thee; therefore I desire thee to think, whether it would not advantage thee much, to make a personal friendship with the Queen Regent, (without shewing any distrust of her Ministers, though not wholly trusting to them) and to shew her, that when her Regency comes out (and possibly before) she may have need of her Friends, so that she shall but serve her self by helping of thee: and to say no more, but certainly, if this Rebellion had not begun to oppress Me when it did, a late great Queen had ended more glorious than she did. In the first place I desire thee to give Me a weekly account of thy health, for I fear left in that affaire thou takest not care enough to expresse thy kindnesse to him who is eternally thine.

The Northern news is rather better than that We first heard, for what by Sir *Marmaduke Langdales*, and *Montrosses* victories, *Carlile* and the rest of Our Northern Garrisons are relieved, and We hope for this year secured; and besides all this, the Northern Horse are already returned and joyned with My Nephew *Rupert*.

Thy Wife, 13 March 1644. *by* P.A.

This is a true copy examined by
Edmund Prideaux.

To

10

To the Queen, *March* 27. 1645. Oxford.

Oxford, *Thursday* 27. *March.*

DEar Heart, I wrote to thee yesterday by *Sakefield*, the subject of it was only kinnesse to thee; which, I assure thee shall ever be visible in all My actions: And now I come to *Jermins* account, given Me by thy command, which is very clear, hopefull in most particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy care and industry. As for the main impediment in the D of *Lorraine* business (which is his passage) why maist thou not procure him passage through *France*? (if that of *Holland* be stuck at) it will much secure and facilitate the Sea transportation in respect of landing on the Western Coast, which I believe will be found the best, there being not so many places to choose on any where else. But this is an opinion, not a direction.

The general face of My affairs Me thinks begins to amend, the dissentions at *London* rather increasing then ceasing. *Montrosse* daily prospering, My Western businesse mending in pace, and hopefull in all the rest. So that if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder (not to exclude any other,) I am confident to be in a better condition this year, than I have been since this Rebellion began, and possibly I may put fair for the whole, and so enjoy the company again, without which nothing can be a contentment unto Me. And so farewell Dear Heart.

I intend (if thou like it) to bestow *Pe*[illegible] place on the M. of *Newcastle*, to whom [illegible] I am no wayes engaged, nor will be before I have thy answer. As for *Jack Barclay* I doe not remember that I gave thee any [illegible]

of making of him Mr. of the Wards: For *Cottington* had it long ago before thou wentst hence; and I intended it to Secretary *Nicholas*, if he then would have received it: and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

desire thee to command L. *Jer.* to read to thee the Ds. Letter, which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the transportation of the D. of *Lorrains* Army.

my Wife, 27. March, 1645. *by* P. A.

This is a true Copy, examined by
Miles Corbet.

II.

the Queen, *March* 30. 1645. Oxford.

DEar Heart, Since My last (which was but three dayes agoe) there are no alterations happened of moment, preparations rather there being yet Our chiefest businesse, in which I hope that we proceed faster then the Rebels, who levies both of men and money for certain goes on very slowly; and I believe they are much weaker than is thought, even here at Oxford. For instance, A very honest Servant of mine, and no Fool, shewed Me a proposition from one of the most considerable *London* Rebels, who will not let his name be known but will he have hope that his proposition will take effect; it is this, That since the Treaty is broken off, that neither the Rebels nor I can agree it, without at least a seeming totall yielding to the other, The Treaty should be entered upon thy motion, with a pre-assurance that the Rebels will submit to reason. The answer

answer that I permitted My Servant to give was, That thou art the much fittest person to be the means of so happy and glorious a work as is the peace of this Kingdom; *but that in no terms thy name was to be prophaned,* therefore he was to be *satisfied of the rebels willingnesse to yeeld to reason before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to them and particularly concerning Religion and the Militia, that nothing must be insisted upon, but according to My former offers.* This I believe will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to My knowledge of this consequence.

I must again tell thee, That most assuredly France will be the best way for the transportation of the D. of *Lorrains* Army, there being divers fit and safe places of landing for them upon the Western Coasts, besides the Ports under My obedience, as *Shelsey* and *Chichester*, and others, of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.

By My next I think to tell thee when We will march into the field, for which money is now his greatest want, I need say no more who is eternally thine.

To my Wife, March 30. 1645. *by* Petit.

This is a true Copy, examined by
Edm. Pridg

12.

To the Queen; *April* 9. 1645. Oxford.

The little that is here in Cypher is in that which I sent to thee by *Pooly*.

Dear heart,

THough it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a slow Messenger, yet all occa-ions, of this (which is now the only) way of onversing with thee, is so welcom to Me as shall be loath to lose any: Expect neither ews or publique businesse from Me, by this ay of conveyance; yet judging thee by My elf, even these nothings will not be unwel-me unto thee, though I should chide thee, hich if I could I would doe, for thy too sud-n taking alarms; I pray thee consider, since I e thee above all earthly things, and that My ntentment is inseparably conjoyned with thine, st not all my actions tend to serve and please e? *If thou knew what a life I lead, (I speak in respect of the common distractions) even in of conversation which in my minde is the joy or vexation of ones life, I dare say thou pity me; for some are too wise, others too some too busie, others too reserved, many ick. In a word, when I know none better speak not now in relation to businesse) then* 3. 70. 55. 5. 7. 67. 18. 294. 35. 66. 16. 54. 6. 38. 68. 9. 60. *thou may easily judge how My sation pleaseth Me.* I confesse thy com-hath perhaps made Me in this hard to be ed, but not lesse to be pitied by thee, who e only cure for this disease. The end of this, to desire thee to comfort Me as often on caust with thy Letters; and dost not think, that to know particulars of thy and how thou spendest thy time, are Subjects unto Me though thou hast

no other busineſſe to write of? believe Me Sweet Heart, thy kindneſſe is as neceſſary to comfort My heart, as thy aſsiſtance is for My affairs.

To my Wife 9. April 1645. *by* Bivion.

This is a true copy examined by Miles Corbet.

13.

To the Queen, *May* 4. 1645. Oxford.

DEar Heart, the Rebels new bruitish General hath refuſed to meddle with forreigners, ſo as yet I cannot diſpatch *Adrian* to thee, by the way of *London*, which if I do not very ſhortly, I will ſend him by the Weſt: and now, if I could be aſſured of thy recovery, I could have but few melancholy thoughts, for I thank God My affairs begin to ſmile upon Me again, *Wales* being well ſwept of the Rebels. *Farrington* having relieved it ſelf, and now being ſecured by *Gorings* comming, My Nephews having likewiſe brought Me a ſtrong party of Horſe and Foot, theſe Quarters are ſo free that I hope to be marching within three or four dayes, and am ſtill confident to have the ſtart of the Rebels this year. I am likewiſe very hopefull that My Son will ſhortly be in the head of a good Army; for this I have the cheerfull aſſurance of *Chancellor Hyde*: Of late I have been much preſſed to make *Southampton* Maſter of My Horſe, not out of good will to him, as out of fear that He might return to a capacity of recoſening Me, wherein if I had done nothing, both jealouſie and diſcontent were like to ariſe, wherefore I thought fit to put My Nephew Rupert in that place, which will both ſave Me the

and stop other mens grumblings: I have now no more to say, but praying for, and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I rest eternally thine.

To my Wife 4. May 1645. *by* Malin St. Ravy.

This is a true copy examined by
Edmund Prideaux.

14.

To the Queen, *May* 14. 1645. Droit Wiche.

Dear Heart,

MArching takes away the conveniency of sending My Letters so safe and quick to thee, as when I was at *Oxford*, however I will not fail to doe what I can to send often to thee; there is so little newes for the present I will leave that Subject for others, only on Saturday last I received a Dispatch from *Montrosse*, which assures Me his condition to be so good, that he bids Me be confident that the Countrey-men shall doe Me no great harm this year, and if I could lend him but 500 men, he would undertake to bring Me 10000 men before the end of this Summer. For the general state of My affaires, We all here think to be very hopefull; this Army being of a good strength, well ordered, and increasing; and Soms such, that *Fairfax* will not be refused to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt have good satisfaction from himself. Its true that I cannot brag of store of money, but my sword alwayes hinders starving at home; and I believe the Rebels Coffers are very full (and certainly We shall make as good a shift with empty purses as they) or else they must have some greater defect, else their Armies could not be so backward as they are.

for I assure thee that I have at this instant many more men in the field than they. I am not very confident what their Northern forces are, but except they are much stronger than I am made believe, I may likewise include them.

Now I must make a complaint to thee of My Son *Charles*, which troubles Me the more that thou maist *Suspect* I seek by equivocating to hide the breach of My word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee: It is this, He hath sent to desire Me, that Sir *John Greenfield* may be sworn Gentleman of his bedchamber, but he is already so publickly engaged in it, that the refusal would be a great disgrace both to My Son and the young Gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now considering his Father's merits, and his own hopefulnesse, besides the great power that Family has in the West, Yet I have refused the admitting of him until I shall hear from thee. Wherefore I desire thee first to chide My Son for ingaging himself without one of Our Consents: then, not to refuse thy own consent: and lastly, to believe that directly or indirectly I never knew of it while yesterday at the delivery of My Son's Letter. So farewel Sweet Heart, and God send Me good news from thee.

To my Wife, May 14. 1645.

This is a true copy exam[ined]
Miles Corbet.

15.

To the Queen, *June* 9. 1645. Oxford.

Dear Heart,

OXford being free, I hope this will come sooner to thee than otherwise I [could]

have expected, which makes Me believe, that My good news will not be very stale, which in short is this, since the taking of *Leicester*, My marching down hither to relieve *Oxford* made the Rebels raise their siege before I could come near them, having had their Quarters once or twice beaten up by that Garrison, and lost four hundred men at an assault before *Bostol-house*; at first I thought they would have fought with Me, being marched as far as *Brakley*, But they are since gone to *Brickhill*, so as I believe they are weaker than they are thought to be: whether by their distractions, (which are certainly very great,) *Fairfax* and *Brown* having been at Cudgels, and his men & *Cromels* likewise at blowes together, where a Captain was slain, or wasting their men, I will not say: besides *Goring* hath given a great defeat to the Western Rebels, but I doe not yet know the particulars; wherefore I may (without being too much sanguine) affirm, that (since this Rebellion) My affairs were never in so fair and hopefull a way, though among Our selves We want not Our own follies, which is needlesse, and I am sure tedious to tell thee, but such as I am confident shall doe no harm nor much trouble Me: yet I must tell thee, that it is thy Letter by *Fitz Williams*, assuring Me of thy perfect recovery with thy wonted kindenesse, which makes Me capable of taking contentment in these good successes: *For as divers men propose severall recompences to themselves for their pains and hazard in this Rebellion; so thy company is the only reward I expect and wish for.*

To my Wife 9. June 1645.

This is a true copy examined by
Miles Corbet.

16.

To the Queen, December 1644. Oxford.

Dear Heart,

I Know thy affection to Me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble, to finde My reputation, as My life in danger: Therefore lest the false fame of My offering a Treaty to the Rebels upon base and unfair terms should disturb thy thoughts, I have thought it necessary (to assure thy minde from such rumours) to tell thee the wayes I have used to come to a Treaty, and upon what grounds. I shall first shew thee My grounds, to the end thou maist the better understand and approve of My wayes; Then know (as a certain truth) that all, even My party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged Me so much the more (at all occasions) to shew My real intentions to peace; *And likewise I am put in very good hope (some hold it a certainty) that if I could come to a fair Treaty, the ring-leading Rebels could not hinder Me from a good peace: First, because their own party are most weary of the War, and likewise for the great distractions which at this time most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independants in Religion, and General against General in point of Command. Upon these grounds a Treaty being most desirable (not without hope of good successe) the most probable means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety, amongst the rest (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably concealable) the sound of My return to London was thought to have so much force of popular Rhetorick in it, that upon it a Treaty would be had: or if refused, it would bring much prejudice to them and be advantagious to Me: yet lest foolish or malicious people should* interpret

interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joyned conditions with the proposition (without which this sound will signifie nothing) which thou wilt finde to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace. Then observe, if a Treaty at *London*, with Commissioners for both sides may be had without it, it is not to be used; nor, in case they will treat with no body but my Self, so that the condition saves any aspersion of dishonour, and the treating at *London* the malignity which our factious spirits here may infuse in o this Treaty upon this Subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumours, and though I judge my Self secure in thy thoughts, from suspecting Me guilty of any baseness, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou maist make others know, as well as thy Self, this certain truth, That no danger of death or misery (which I think much worse) shall make Me doe any thing unworthy of thy love. For the state of My present affaires I refer thee to 92. concluding (as I did in my last to thee) conjuring thee, as thou loveſt Me, that no appearance of peace (and now I adde) nor hopefull condition of mine, make thee neglect to haste succour for him who is eternally thine. *Copy to my Wife*, Dec. 1644. *by* Tom Elliot.

17.

To the Queen, *January* 2. 1645. Oxford.

Dear Heart,

HAving decypherd thine which I received yesterday, I was much surprized to finde thee blame Me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed I have often complained for want, never miſt any occasion of sending to thee; and I assure thee never any dispatch went from

either of My Secretaries without one from Me, when I knew of it.

'As for My calling those at *London* a Parliament, I shall refer thee to *Digby* for particular satisfaction, this in general; If there had been but two (besides my Self of My opinion, I had not done it, and the Argument that prevailed with Me, was, that the calling did no wayes acknowledge them, to be a Parliament, upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwayes, and accordingly it is registred in the Council Books, with the Councels unanimous approbation; but thou wilt finde, that it was by misfortune, not neglect, that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it.

As for the conclusion of thy Letter, it would much trouble Me, if thou didst not know thy desire granted before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction hath been presented to thee in the uglieſt form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it, the fear of some such mischance made Me the more carefull to give thee a full account by *Tom Elliot*, of the reasons of the D. of *R.* and E. of *S.* journey to *London*, which if it come soon enough, I am confident will free thee from much trouble, but if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my actions, before thou hear the reasons of them from Me, thou maist be often Subject to be doubly vext, first with slanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, esteem Me as thou findest Me constant to those grounds thou left Me withall, and so farewell Dear Heart.

Copy to my Wife, 2. Jan. 1645. *by* P. A.

This is a true copy examined by
Edmund Prideaux.

To

18.

To the Queen, *February* 19. 1645. Oxford.

DEar Heart. I cannot yet ſend thee any certain word concerning the iſſue of Our Treaty, only, the unreaſonable ſtubborneſſe of the Rebels gives daily leſſe and leſſe hopes of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumours ſhall hinder thee from haſting all thou maiſt, all poſsible aſsiſtance to Me, and particularly that of the D. of *Lorraines*; concerning which I received yeſterday good newes from Dr. *Goffe*, that the P. of *Orange* will furniſh ſhipping for his tranſportation, and that the reſt of his negotiation goes hopefully on; by which, and many other wayes, I finde thy affection ſo accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their ſeverall kindes) to eſteem moſt: but I will ſay no more of this, leſt thou maiſt think that I pretend to doe this way, what is but poſsible to be done by the continued actions of My life; though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to *Argyle* by *Montroſe*; who upon ſurprize totally routed thoſe Rebels, killed 1500 upon the place. Yeſterday I received thine of *January* 27. by the Portugal Agent, the only way (but expreſſes) I am confident on, either to receive Letters from thee, or to ſend them to thee; indeed *Sabran* ſent Me word yeſterday, beſides *ſome complements of the Imbargo of the Rebels ſhips in* France (*which I likewiſe put upon the ſcore of kindneſſe*) but is well enough content that the Portugal ſhould be charged with my diſpatches. As for truſting the Rebels either by going to *London*, or disbanding My Army before a peace, doe no wayes fear my hazarding too cheaply or fooliſhly; for I eſteem the intereſt thou haſt in Me at a far dearer rate, and

pretend to have a little more wit (at least by the sympathy that is betwixt Us) then to put my Self into the reverence of perfidious Rebels. So impatiently expecting the expresse thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine.

I can now assure thee, that *Herbert* the Irish Agent is an arrant Knave, which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending Pacquets.

To my Wife 19. Febr. 1645. *by* P. A.

This is a true copy examined by
Edmund Prideaux

19.

To the Queen, *February* 25. 1645. Oxford.

DEar Heart, the expectation of an expresse from thee (as I finde by thine of the 4. *Febr.*) is very good news to Me, as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with my diligence in writing. As for Our Treaty therein every day lesse hopes than other, that it will produce a peace. But I will absolutely promise thee, that if we have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy return: For I avow, that without thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within my Self. The limited dayes for treating are now almost expired without the least agreement upon any one Article. Wherefore I have sent for inlargement of dayes, that the whole Treaty may be laid open to the world. And I assure thee, that thou needst not doubt the issue of this Treaty; for *My Commissioners are so well chosen* (though I say it) *that they will neither be threatned nor disputed from the grounds I have given them which* (upon *My* word) *is according to the high*

Next

Note thou so well remembrest. And in this, not only their obedience, but their judgements concur. I confesse that in some respects thou hast reason to bid Me beware of going too soon to *London*; for indeed some amongst Us had a greater minde that way than was fit; of which perswasion *Percy* is one of the chief, who is shortly likely to see thee, of whom having said this, is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted or believed by thee concerning Our proceedings here. In short, there is little or no appearance but that this Summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet: and be confident, that in making peace I shall ever shew my constancy in adhering to Bishops, and all Our Friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual Parliament. But if thou loves Me, let none perswade thee to slacken thine assistance for him who is eternally thine,

C. R.

To my Wife 15. Febr. 1645. *by* P. A.

This is a true copy examined by
Edmund Prideaux.

20.

To the Queen, *March* 9. 1645. Oxford.

DEar Heart, now is come to passe what I foresaw, the fruitlesse end (as to a present peace) of this Treaty; but I am still confident, that I shall still finde very good effects of it: for besides that My Commissioners have found, to say no more, full measured reason, and the Rebels have stucken rigidly to their demands, which I dare say had been too much, though they had taken Me prisoner, so that directly the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewise at this time discovered,

vered, and shall likewise make it evidently appear to the World, that the English Rebels (whether basely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of *Ireland* from the Crown of *England* to the Scots, which (besides the reflection it will have upon these Rebels) will clearly shew, that reformation of the Church is not the chief, much lesse the only end of the Scotch Rebellion; but it being presumption, and no piety to trust to a good cause, as not to use all lawfull means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance, than hitherto thou hast had: It is, That I give thee power to promise in my Name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the penal lawes against the Roman Catholicks in *England* as soon as God shall enable Me to doe it; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerfull assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable Me to doe it. But if thou ask what I call that assistance, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this businesse requires; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can expresse to thee; for it is no thank to Me to trust to thee in any thing else, but in this which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt Us: *And yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for Me even in this.* I trusting thee, (though it concern Religion) as if thou wert a Protestant, the visible good of My affairs so much depending on it, I have so fully intrusted this bearer *Pooly*, that I will not say more to thee now but that herewith I send thee a new cypher, assuring thee, that none hath or shall have any copy of it but my Self, to the end thou may use it, when thou shalt finde fit to write any thing

ing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy ains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered none but Me; and so likewise from him to ee who is eternally thine.

To my Wife 5. March, 1645. by *Pooly*.

This is a true copy examined by
Edm. Prideaux.

21.

To the Queen, March 20. 1655. Oxford.

Dear Heart,

UPon Saturday last I wrote to thee by *Sabran* (but this I believe may come soon to thee) and I have received thine of e seventh upon Monday last, which gave egreat contentment both in present and exctation, (the quick passage being likewise welcome circumstance and yet I cannot but de a fault of omission in most of thy latter spatches, there being nothing in them conrning thy health. For though I confesse, at in this no news is good news, yet I am t so satisfied without a more perfect assurce; and I hope thou wilt by satisfying confesse the justnesse of this my exception. am now full fraught with expectation (I pray od send me a good unlading) for I look ily for some blow of importance to be gi- about *Taunton* or *Shrewsbury*; and I am fidently assured of a considerable and sud- supply of men from *Ireland*, likewise the ritory Horse (as the *London* Rebells call m) may be reckoned in, for yet it is not wn what fomenters they have, or whether y have none, if the latter, there is the more e of gaining them to me: howsoever I

doubt

doubt not, but if they ſtand out (as it is probable) good uſe may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter account next week, having ſent to try their pulſe. *Petit* came yeſterday, but he having at *London* thruſt his Diſpatches into the States Ambaſſadours Pacquets I have not yet received them, and I would not ſtay to lengthen this by anſwer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good Weſtern news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within theſe three or four dayes; only I congratulate with thee for the ſafe arrivall of thy Tin-adventurers *Callis*: and ſo farewell Sweet heart.

Thine of the tenth I have newly received, whereby I finde that thou much miſtakes Me concerning *Ir.* for I deſire nothing more than a peace there, and never forbad thy commerce there; only I gave thee warning of ſome Intrigues in *France*: whom I then thought and now know to be Knaves.

To my Wife, 20. March, $164\frac{4}{5}$ *by* P. A.

This is a true copy examined by
Edm. Pridea

22.

To the Marqueſſe of Ormond, December 15. 1644. Oxford.

ORMOND, I am ſorry to finde by Colonel *Barry*, the ſad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot finde ſo good and ſpeedy remedy as the peace of *Ireland*, it being likewiſe to redreſſe moſt neceſſary affairs here; wherefore I command you to diſpatch it out of hand, for the doing of which

which I hope my publick Dispatch will give you sufficient instruction and power: yet I have thought it necessary for your more encouragement in this necessary work, to make this addition with My own hand. As for *Poinings* Act I refer you to my other Letter: and for matter of Religion; though I have not found it fit to take publick notice of the paper which Brown gave you, yet I must command you to give him my *L. Muskery* and *Plunket*, particular thanks for it, assuring them that without it, there could have been no peace; and that sticking to it, their Nation in generall and they in particular should have comfort in what they have done, *and to shew that this is more then words, I doe hereby promise them, and command you to see it done) that the penal statutes against Roman Catholicks shall not be put in execution the peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, that when the Irish gives Me that assistance which they have promised, for the suppression of this Rebellion, and I shall be restored to My Right, then I will consent to the repeal of them by a Law; but all those against Appeals to Rome, and Premunire must stand,* all this in Cypher, you must impart to none, but those three already named, and that with injunction of strict secresie: so again recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of *Ireland*, and my necessary supply from thence, as I wrote to you in my last private Letter, I rest.

A true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

To

23.

To the Marquesse of Ormond, Jan. 7. 164[illegible]
Oxford.

ORMOND, upon the great rumours and expectations which are now of peace I think it necessary to tell you the true state of it, lest mistaken reports from hence might trouble my affairs there.

'The Rebels here have agreed to Treat; 'and most assuredly, one of the first and chief 'Articles they will insist on, will be, to con- 'tinue the Irish war; *which is a point not pe- 'culiar for Me to break on*; of which you are 'to make a double use: First, To hasten (with 'all possible dilligence) the peace there; the 'timely conclusion of which will take off that 'inconvenience which other wayes I may be 'subject to by the refusall of that Article, 'upon any other reason. Secondly, By dex- 'trous conveying to the Irish, the danger there 'may be of their totall and perpetuall exclu- 'sion from those favours I intend them, in 'case the Rebels here clap up a peace with 'Me, upon reasonable termes, and only ex- 'clude them; which possibly were not cou- 'celable for me to refuse, if the Irish peace 'should be the only difference betwixt Us, be- 'fore it were perfected there: These I hope 'are sufficient grounds for you to perswade 'the Irish diligently to dispatch a peace up- 'on reasonable terms, assuring them that you 'having once fully engaged to them my word '(in the conclusion of a peace) all the earth 'shall not make me break it.

'But not doubting of a peace I must again 'remember you to presse the Irish for their 'speedy assistance to me here, and their friends 'in *Scotland*: My intention being to draw 'from thence into *Wales* (the peace once con- 'cluded) as many as I can of my armed Pro-

testants

testant Subjects, and desire that the Irish would send as great a body as they can to land about *Cumberland*, which will put those Northern Counties in a brave condition; wherefore you must take speedy order to provide all the shipping you may as well Dunkirk as Irish Bottoms; and remember that after *March* it will be most difficult to transport men from *Ireland* to *England* the Rebells being masters of the Seas: So expecting a diligent and particular account in answer to this Letter, I rest

Your assured constant Friend,

C. R.

24.

To the M. of Ormond, Feb. 16. 1644. Oxf.

ORMOND, I should wrong my own service, and this Gentleman Sir *Timothy* [illegible]*ston*, if I did not recommend him and his business to you; for the particulars of which I refer you to *Digby*: And now again I cannot but mention to you the necessity of the hastening of the Irish Peace, for which I hope you are already furnished by Me, with materialls sufficient: But in case (against all expectation and reason) peace cannot be had upon those terms, you must not by any means fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the Cessation according to a Postscript in a letter by *Jack Barry* (a copy of which Dispatch I herewith send you.) So I rest.

POST-SCRIPT.

In case upon particular mens fancies, the Irish peace should not be procured, upon powers

powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further order (which I hope will prove needlesse) to treat to renew the cessation for a yeer, for which you shall promise the Irish (if you can have no cheaper) to joyn with them against the Scots and *Inchiquin*; for I hope by that time my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept lesse, *or I be able to get more.*

25.

To the Marquesse of Ormond, February 27. 1644.

Ormond,

THe impossibility of preserving my Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, by a continuation of the war, having moved Me to give you those powers and directions, which I have formerly done for the concluding of a peace there, and the same growing daily much more evident, that alone were reason enough for me, to enlarge your powers, and to make my commands in the point more positive. But besides these considerations, it being now manifest that the English Rebells have (as far as in them lyes) given the command of *Ireland* to the Scots; that their aim is at a totall subversion of Religion and Regall power, and that nothing lesse will content them, or purchase peace here, I think my self bound in conscience not to let slip the means of settling that Kingdome (if it may be) fully under my obedience; nor to lose that assistance which I may hope from my Irish Subjects, for such scruples as in a lesse pressing condition might reasonably be stuck at by me: For their satisfaction I doe therefore command you to con-

clude

ade a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost, that my Protestant Subjects there may be cured. & my Regall Authority preserved: But r all this you are to make me the best bar- in you can, and not discover your inlarge- ent of power till you needs must. And ough I leave the managing of this great and cessary work entirely to you, yet I cannot t tell you, that if the suspension of *Poinings* t for such Bils as shall be agreed upon be- ten you there, and the present taking away the penal Laws against Papists, by a Law ll doe it: I shall not think it a hard bar- in. so that freely and vigorously they engage mselves in my assistance against my Rebels *England* and *Scotland*, for which no condi- ons can be too hard, not being against Con- ence or Honour.

Copy to Ormond, 27. Feb. 1644.

a true copy,

Zouche Tate.

26.

To the D. *of* R.

Richmond, I thank you for the account you sent me by this Bearer, and have ing of new to direct you in, but only to re- ber you that my going to *West*. is not to ntioned but upon probable hopes of pro- g a Treaty with Com. there or there and that you mention the security I with My coming to *West*. And I hope not remember you to Cajolewell the glishmen and Scots; this Bearer will tell how well Our Western and Northern Associations

Associations goes on to whom I refer you for other things. I rest.

This is a true Copy.

Touche Ta

21:

To the Lord Jermin, April 24. 164[illegible] Oxford.

HARRY, lest my Wife should not yet be fit for any business, I write this to you not to excuse My pains, but ease hers, and that she may know but not be troubled with my kindness, I refer to your discretion, how far to impart my Letter to her or any other business, that so her health in the first place be cared for, then my affairs: And now I must tell you that undoubtedly if you had not trusted to *Digbies* sanguine Complexion (not to be rebated from sending good news) you would not have found fault with him for sending mistaken intelligence, for if he should strictly tye himself to certain truths in this kind you must have nothing from him but My Proclamations or Ordinances from the pretended Houses; but tell Me, can you not distinguish between what we send you upon certainty, and what upon uncertain reports, without making an Oath the mark of distinction? and are you obliged to publish all the news We send you? Seriously I think news may be sometimes too good to be told in the French Court: but certainly there is as much dexterity in publishing of news; as in matters which at first sight may seem of greater difficulty: for I would not have them think that all assistance bestowed upon Me were in vain, so I would not have them believe that I needed no [illegible]

est they should underhand, assist any Rebels to keep the ballance of dissention amongst Us equal.

For matter of news and present state of My affairs I refer you to *Digby*, only this in generall, that if it shall please God to assist Us this year but half so miraculously as he did the last (My present state compared with what it was this time twelve moneth) I am very hopefull to see a joyfull Harvest before next Winter: nor doe I think this in any humane probability possible; except my Wife can procure Me considerable assistance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to despair, yours giving Me good hope, concerning *Lorrain*. and though I say not, that, for the other, I have so good an Author as 156. yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149. in hers the 10. of March, sayes, *Jay une Affaire, assures que vous donnere 40000. Pistols que Je vous cussi envoyé si J' cussi lu mon navier revenu avec l'estain.*

In the last place I will impose that upon you, that is not reasonable to expect from my Wife, which is to give me a continuall account, what Letters she receives from me, and what miscarries or comes slowly, to which end, take notice, that all my Letters to her are numerarily marked on the top as this with 37. and likewise I now begin the same with you; so farewell.

In your next let me know particularly how my Wife is, which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge will hinder me to imagine her worse than she is, if well, then every word will please me. I have commanded *Digby* to write to you freely concerning *Will Murry*, which I holde to be necessary as concerning *Montrosse* businesse.

To the L. Jer. 24. April, 1645 *concerning* France.

This is a true copy examined by Miles Corbet.

The

28.

The Queen *to the* King, *March* 30. 164[illegible]

My dear heart, I need not tell you [illegible] whence this Bearer comes, only [illegible] tell you, that the Propositions which he [illegible] you are good, but 260. I believe that it is [illegible] yet time to put them into execution; there [illegible] finde some means to send them back, [illegible] may not discontent them, and due notice [illegible] gave you this advice. Sir *Hugh Chomley* [illegible] come with a Troop of Horse to kisse my [illegible] the rest of his people he left at *Scarborough* [illegible] with a Ship laden with arms, which the [illegible] of the Parliament had taken and brought [illegible] ther; so she is Ours. The Rebels have [illegible] ted *Tadcaster* upon Our sending Forces [illegible] *Wetherby*, but they are returned with two [illegible] hundred men: We send more Forces to [illegible] them out, though those we have already [illegible] *Wetherby* are sufficient, but We fear lest they [illegible] have all their Forces thereabout, and lest they [illegible] have some designe; for they have quitted [illegible] *Selby* and *Cawood*, the last of which they have [illegible] burnt: betweenthis and to morrow night We [illegible] shall know the issue of this businesse; and [illegible] will send you an expresse: I am more curious [illegible] to advertise you of what you doe, that you may [illegible] We my finde means to have Passe ports, we [illegible] send: and I wonder that upon the Cessation [illegible] you have not demanded that you might [illegible] in safety: this shewes my love: I understand [illegible] to day from *London*, that they will have no [illegible] Cessation, and that they treat at the beginning [illegible] of the two first Articles, which is of the [illegible] Forts, Ships and Ammunition, and afterwards [illegible] of the disbanding of the Armie: Certainly I [illegible] wish a peace more than any, and that upon [illegible] greater reason: but I would the disbanding [illegible] of the perpetual Parliament first, and certainly the rest will be easily afterwards. I doe [illegible] by

this of Mine own head alone: for general-
both those who are for you and against you
this Country, with an end of it; and I
certain. that if you doe demand it at the
, in case it be not granted, *Hull* is Ours,
l all *Yorkshire*, which is a thing to consider
: and for my particular, if you make a
ace and disband your Army, before there is
end to this perpetuall Parliament, I am ab-
utely resolved to goe into *France*, not being
lling to fall again into the hands of those
ople, being well assured, that if the power
main with them, that it will not be well for
e in *England*: Remember what I have writ-
n to you in three precedent Letters, and be
re carefull of Me than you have been, or at
leaft dissemble it, to the end that no notice
taken of it. Adieu. The man haftens me,
that I can say no more.

York, March 30.

29

The Queen *to the* King. *June* 27. 1643.
Newark.

My Dear Heart, I received just now your
Letter by my Lord *Savile*, who found
e ready to goe away, staying but for one
ing, for which you will well pardon two
es flop, it is to have *Hull* and *Lincoln*:
ung *Hotham* having been put in prison by
ber of Parliament, is escaped t and hath sent
160 that he would cast himself into his arms,
d that *Hull* and *Lincoln* should be rendred,
is gone to his Father, and 160 writes for
er answer, so that I think I shall go hence
day or Saturday, and shall goe lie at *Werton*,
d from thence to *Ashby*, where We will
sure what way to take, and I will stay there
a day,

a day, because that the march of the day before will have been somewhat great, and also we know how the Enemie marches: all their forces of *Nottingham* at present being gone to *Leicester* and *Darby*, which makes Us believe that it is to intercept our passage, as soon as We have resolved I will send you word: at the present I think it fit to let you know the way in which We march and what I leave behind Me for the safety of *Lincolnshire* and *Nottinghamshire*: I leave 2000 Foot, and wherewithall to arm 500 more, 20 companies of Horse all this to be under *Charls Cavendish*, whom the Gentlemen of the Country have desired me not to carry with me against his will, for he desired extremely not to goe. The enemie have left within *Nottingham* 1000. I carry with me 3000 Foot, 20 Companies of Horse and Dragoons, 6 peices of Canon, and 2 Mortars, *Harry Germyn* commands the Foot which goe with me, as Colonel of my Guard and Sir *Alex. Lesley* the Foot under him, Sir *Gerard* the Horse, and *Robin Legge* the Artillery, and her she-Majesty Generalissima, and extremely diligent with 150 Wagons of Baggage to govern, in case of battel, have a care that no Troop of *Essex* his Army incommode Us, for I hope that for the rest We shall be strong enough; for at *Nottingham* We have had the experience, 1 of Our Troops having beaten 6 of theirs, and made them flye. I have received your Proclamation or Declaration, which I wish had not been made being extremely disadvantagious for you; for you shew too much fear, and doe not what you had resolved upon. Farewell my Dear Heart.

The Queen *to the* King. 27 *June*, 16

30.

The Queen *to the* King. *April* 3. 1644.

THis Letter ſhould have gone by a man of Maſter *Denedſdale*, who is gone, and all the beginning of this Letter was upon this ſubject: and therefore by this man it ſignifies nothing but the end was ſo pleaſing, that I doe not forbear to ſend it to you. You now know by *Ellis*: the iſſue of the buſineſſe of *Todcaſter*, ſince we had almoſt loſt *Scarborough*, whileſt *Cholmly* was here, *Brown Buſhel* would have rendred it up to the Parliament: but *Cholmley* having had notice of it, is gone with his Forces, and hath re-taken it; and hath offered to have a Lieutenant and Forces of his to put within it; for which we ſhould take his; he hath alſo taken two Pinaces from *Newcaſtle*, which brought 44 men to put within *Scarborough*, 10 peeces of Canon, 4 barrels of powder, 4 of bullet. This is all our news: our Army marches to morrow to put an end to *Fairfax*'s Excelleney. And I will make an end of this Letter, this third of *April*. I have had no news of you ſince *Parſons*.

A true copy. P. W.

31.

The Queen *to the* King. *April* 21. 1644. Bathe.

MY Dear Heart, *Fred. Cornwallis* will have told you all our voyage as far as *Exeter*, and the ſtate of my health: ſince my coming hither, I finde my ſelf ill, as well in the fit that I have, as in the increaſe of my fever.

I hope that this dayes reſt will doe me good: I goe to morrow to *Briſtol*, to ſend back the Carts; many of them are al-

ready returned: My Lord *Dillon* told me directly from you, though he sayes you prove it; that it was fit I should write a letter to the Commissioners of *Ireland* to effect, That they ought to desist from things for the present, which they had put their paper, and to assure them that when shall be in another condition then you now, that you will give them contentment.

I thought it to be a matter of so great gagement, that I dare not doe it without command; therefore if it please you should doe so, send me what you would me write, that I may not doe more than you appoint: And also that it being your mand, you may hold to that which I pro for I should be very much grieved to wi ny thing which I would not hold to, and you have promised it me, I will be confi I believe also, that to write to my Lord *Kery* without the rest will be enough; for Letter which I shall write to him shall be mine own hand: and if it be to all your C missioners, it shall be by the Secretary. F wel my Dear Heart: I cannot write any but that I am absolutely Yours.

A true copy. *Zouch Tat*

32.

The Queen *to the* King *Decem.* 6. 1644.

Paris, January, I have received your Letters dated from *Mal* an old date, having received many more fresh, to which I have made will say nothing concerning this, but only cerning the affair of (*Gor.*) if it be not it is time, being very reasonable at this which I did not believe before, I under

hat the Commissioners are arrived at *London*, I have nothing to say but that you have a care of your Honour; and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold; and if it fall out otherwise, *that you doe not abandon those who have served you, for fear they doe forsake you in your need.* Also I doe not see how you can be in safety without a Regiment of Guard; for my self I think I cannot be, *during the malice which they have against me, and my Religion, of which I hope you will have care of both*: but in my opinion Religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat; *For if you doe agree upon strictnesse against the Catholicks, it would discourage them to serve you: and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland, or any other Catholick place; for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served your self.* I have dispatched an expresse into *Scotland* to *Montrosse*, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I send to the *Duke of Lorrain*, and into *Holland*. I lose no time: I had more of your news all would goe better. Adieu my Dear Heart.

A true copy.

Zouche Tate.

33.

The Queen to the King, *Jan.* 27. 1644. Paris.

Paris, January 17. and 27. My Dear Heart, Sir *Tom Ellis* two dayes since hath brought much joy, and sorrow: the first, to know the good estate in which you are: the other, that I have that you goe to *London*. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsel, unlesse it be to hazard

your person to save their's: but thanks be to God to day I received one of yours by the Ambassadour of *Portugal* dated in *January*, which comforted me much to see that the Treaty shall be at *Uxbridge*: For the honour of God trust not your self in the hands of these people. And if you ever goe to *London* before the Parliament be ended, or without a good Army, you are lost. *I understand, that the Propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the Army; if you consent to this, you shall be lost,* they have the whole power of the Militia, they have come and will doe whatsoever they will. *I received yesterday Letters from the Duke of Lorrain, who sends me word, if his service be agreeable to me, he will bring you ten thousand men*: Dr. Goffe whom I have sent into *Holland*, shall treat with him in his passage upon this business; and I hope very speedily to send you good newes of this, as also of the money. Assure yourself I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire; and that I will hazard my life rather than to die by Famine, rather than not to send you. Send me word alwayes by whom you receive my Letters, for I write both by the Ambassadour of *Portugal* and the Resident of *France*. Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops as the poor Catholicks. Adieu. You will pardon me if I make use of another to write, not being able to doe it; yet my hand in cyphers shew to my Nephew *Rupert*, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to him, to the end that he may know the reason why I write not to him; I know not how to send great packets.

My Wife, $\frac{27}{17}$ January $164\frac{5}{4}$

A true copy. Zouch Tate.

34.

The Queen to the King, March 13. 1644. Paris.

PAris this 13 of *March*. My Dear Heart, Since my last, I have received one of your Letters marked 16 by which you signifie the receipt of my Letters by *Pooly*, which hath a little surpris'ed me, seeming to me that you write as if I had something in my Letter which had displeased you: If that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention, I only did believe that it was necessary you should know all: There is one other thing in your Letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to my self your Dispatches, as if you believe that I should be capable to shew them to any, which is onely to L. *Jer.* to unpher them, my head not suffering me to doe it my self: but if it please you I will doe it, and none in the world shall see them: Be kinde to me, or you kill me: I have already affliction enough to bear, which without you I could not doe, but your service surmounts all: Farewell my Dear Heart; behold the mark which you desire to have to know when I desire any thing in earnest +; and I pray begin to remember what I spake to you concerning Sir *Bobby* for Master of the Wards; I am not engaged, nor will not be for the places of Sir, and others, doe you accordingly.

13 *March*. 1644.

Oxford. *Feb.* 1644.

35.

Memorials for Secretary Nicholas *concerning the Treaty at* Uxbridge.

FIrst, For Religion and Church-government I will not go one jot further then what is offered by you already.

2. And so for the Militia more than what you have allowed by Me, but even in that you must observe, that I must have free nomination of the full half; as if the totall number Scots and all be thirty, I will name fifteen; provided they (I mean the English Rebels) will be in base as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English, and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon

3. As for gaining of particular persons besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performed services, not sparing to engage for places, so they be not of great trust, or be taken away from honest men in possession, but of as much profit as you will: with this last you are only to acquaint *Richmond*, *Southampton*, *Culpeper* and *Ride*.

This is a true Copy.
Zouche Tate.

36.

Directions for the Uxbridge *Commissioners.*

First, Concerning Religion.

IN this the government of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chief question, whereof

in two things are to be considered, Conscience and Policy. For the first, I must declare unto you, that I cannot yeeld to the change of the government by Bishops; not only as I fully concurre with the most generall opinion of Christians in all Ages, as being the best; but likewise I hold my self particularly bound by the Oath I took at My Coronation, not to alter the government of this Church from what I found it. And as for the Churches patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it; it being without peradventure Sacriledge, and likewise contrary to My Coronation Oath; but whatsoever shall be offered for rectifying of abuses, if any hath crept in, or yet for the ease of tender Consciences (so that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto. For the second, As the Kings duty is to protect the Church, so it is the Churches to assist the King in the maintenance of his just authority: Wherefore My Predecessors have been always carefull (and especially since the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy intirely upon the Crown, without which it will scarcely sit fast upon the Kings head; therefore you must doe nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency.

Next, concerning the Militia.

After Conscience, this is certainly the fittest Subject for a Kings quarrell; for without it the Kingly power is but a shadow and therefore upon no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient known Laws of the Land: yet (because to attain to this so much wished peace by all good men) it is in a manner necessary, that sufficient and reall Security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon. I permit you, either by leaving strong Towns or other Military force into the Rebels possession (untill Articles be perfected) to give such assurance for perfor-

mance of conditions as you shall judge necessary for to conclude a peace: provided always that ye take (at least) as great care by sufficient security, that conditions be performed to Me: *And so make sure that the peace once settled, all things shall return into their ancient Channels.*

Thirdly, For Ireland.

I confesse, they have very specious popular Arguments to presse this point, the gaining of no article more concluding to their ends than this: And I have as much reason, both in honour and policy to take care how to answer this as any: All the World knows the eminent inevitable necessity which caused Me to make the Irish Cessation, and there remain yet as strong reasons for the concluding of that peace; wherefore ye must consent to nothing to hinder me therein, untill a clear way be shown Me how My Protestant Subjects there may probably (at least) defend themselves, and that I shall have no more need to defend My Conscience and Crown from the injuries of this Rebellion.

A true Copy.

Touche Tate.

At *Uxbridge* on Wednesday the 29 of *January*, 1644. the Protestation under written was unanimously consented unto, and taken by all his Majesties Commissioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-grounded peace.

I A. B. *being one of the Commissioners assigned by His Majesty for this present treaty at Uxbridge, doe protest and promise in the sight of Almighty God, that I will not disclose nor reveal unto any person or persons whatsoever (who is not a Commissioner) any matter or thing that shall*

passe

spoken of during the Treaty by any one, or more of his Majesties Commissioners, in any private debate amongst our selves, concerning the said Treaty; so as to name or describe directly or indirectly the person or persons that shall speak any such matter or thing, unlesse it be by the consent of all the said Commissioners that shall be then living.

Memorandum, That it is by all the said Commissioners agreed, That this shall not binde, where any ten of the Commissioners shall agree to certifie his Majesty the number of Assenters, or Dissenters, upon any particular result in this Treaty, not naming or describing the persons.

This is a true Copy, examined by
Zouche Tate.

37.

Instructions for Colonell Cockram, *to be pursued in his negotiations to the King of* Denmark.

YOu are to inform the King of *Denmark*, that by his Majesties command, as to the neareſt ally of His Crown, his Uncle, and who he believes will not be unconcerned in his affairs, aswell in intereſts as affection, you are ſent to give a particular account of the ſtate of his Majeſties affairs, to renew the ancient League and Amity that hath been between the two Kingdoms, and Families Royall; and to reduce it to more exact particulars, ſuch as might be uſefull to the preſent affairs of *England* and all occurrences in the future of the ſtate of *Denmark*.

That the preſent affair of your negotiation, is to demand an aſsiſtance from his Majeſty,

such an one as the present state of the affairs of *England* requires, against a dangerous combination of his Majesties subjects, who have not only invaded his Majesty in his particular rights, but have laid a designe to dissolve the Monarchy and frame of government, under pretences of Libertie and Religion, becoming a dangerous president to all the Monarchs of Christendome to be looked upon with successe in their designe.

That the nature of their proceedings hath been such as hath not admitted any forraign Treaty to be interessed in suppressing their designe, without giving them advantage of scandalling his Majesties intentions, and drawing away universally the hearts of his people, whom they had insinuated under pretence of Reformation of particular abuses of Government, and Ministers of Estate, to concurre generally with approbation of their proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous consequence and designe were visible to his Majesty) a present complyance was necessary, lest any publick opposition on his Majesties part, that might seem to defeat the great expectations which they had raised in the Commons, in those plausible particulars might have occasioned a generall revolt throughout the Kingdoms, great jealousie being dispersed and fomented amongst them of his Majesties forraign Treaties and Force, to be used to oppose and suppresse those their desires and the movers therein.

Upon the credit they had herewith built on the peoples opinions, they proceeded under Pretence of Reformation of Religion to dissolve the government of the Church, according to its constitution in *England*, a chief column and support to that Monarchy and Crown.

They lastly invaded his Majesty in all the prerogatives of His Crown, and under pretence of ill Ministers and Counsellors of Estate, whom they pretended to remove, [illegible]

endeavoured to invest in themselves in all times for the future the nomination of all Ministers of Estate, and of his Majesties Family; withdrew all His Revenues into their own hands, and to confirm themselves in an absolute power of disposing His estate, entred upon possessing themselves of the Militia of the Kingdom, His Navy and Magazines, in which His Majesty being forced to appear in opposition, dangerous tumults were raised against Him, so that he was forced to forsake London, for preservation of His Person, His Queen, and Children.

That since, for the safety of the Queen, He hath been forced to send Her into *Holland*, to retire Himself to the best affected party of His Subjects, from whence by Declarations, setting forth the sinister proceedings of that Faction, discovering their designes of innovating the government, and falsifying the scandals they had imputed to Him, He hath had the advantage generally to undeceive His people, to draw to Him universally the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. But the other Faction, still keeping up some interest and credit with the Commons, in the desperate estate they finde themselves, begin to make head against Him, have appointed a Generall, and are levying Forces to maintain their party, committing divers acts of hostilitie, violence, and rebellion.

That his Majesty having great encouragements given Him by the exceeding numbers of Gentry and Noblemen that resort to Him, is already advanced near them with 6000 Horse, and 10000 Foot.

That the States of *Holland* have condescended to give her Majesty the Q. a convoy of the greatest part of their Fleet now at Sea, for her return into *England*.

That divers Forts and Counties, upon his Majesties personall appearance, have declared for Him, so that his affairs at home grow dai-

ly

ly into a better estate, as he likewise expects and hopes, that all His Neighbour Princes and Allies will not look upon so dangerous a president to their own Crowns and Monarchies, without contributing to suppresse this so pernicious a design, begun within His Kingdome.

That to give his Majesty the juster ground to reflect upon the dangerous consequences, in relation to His own interest, of their successe. It hath been by them publickly moved in the Commons House long since, to interpose in the accommodation of the Dutch, and to set out a Fleet, to take away His Customs of the *Sound*.

That they have since imputed to his Majesty as a ground to scandall Him with His people, that He did negotiate, the introducing by his Uncle the King of *Denmark*, a foreign Power, to settle His affairs; and under that pretext have given large Commission, and particular instructions to the Fleet, to visit, search, and intercept all such Danish ships as they should meet, and to fight with, sink or destroy, all such as should resist them, not permitting the same, or to take and detein them, having any arms or ammunition on board; according to which they have searched, visited, and deteined divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the Norway trade driven commonly in this Kingdome, in their own bottoms: And that they did prepare force against others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation being bound for the *West-Indies*, and put in by stresse of weather in the West of *England*.

That in pursuance of their great design of extirpating the Royall blood, and Monarchy of *England*, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great blemish upon his Royall Family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his Sister, at once to cut off the in-

treason and pretentions of the whole Race, which their most detestable and scandalous designs they have pursued, examining witnesses, and conferring circumstances, and times to colour their pretensions in so great a fault: and which as his sacred Majesty of *England* in the true sense of honour of his Mother, doth abhor, and will punish, so he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a Sister of so happy memory, and by whom so near an union, and continued League of amity, hath been procured between the Families and Kingdomes.

That the particulars in which his Majesty doth desire his assistance, are, in the loan, and raising of Men, Money, Arms, and Ships, all or such of them as may consist best with the convenience of his own affairs: And of such in the first place as may be most requisite and are wanting to his Majesty.

That to set his levies on foot, and put him in a posture to protect his Subjects in all places that adhere to him, and receive their contribution; 100000 li. will be necessary for him, which his Majesty desires by way of loan. And for the restitution of it, besides his Kingly word, and solemn engagement upon this treaty, he is contented of such his Crown Jewels as are in his disposure, to leave his Royall pledge, if it shall be desired.

The particulars of arms that he desires, are 2000. Musquets, 1500. Horse-arms, and 20. pieces of Artillery mounted

Assistance of men, he desires only in Horse, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the Holy Island, or New castle are assigned for the landing of the said Horse, and magazin of the said provisions, for reception thereof, and protection of such his ships as he shall think fit to imploy for the countenance and security of those his Subjects that shall trade upon these Coasts; and for ascertaining the

the correspondence and intelligence between the two Kingdomes; in which the number is left to be proportioned as may best suit and agree with his own affairs. And for which the Holy Island is conceived one of the aptest Harbours in his Majesties Dominions, being capable of any ships whatsoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent road at the entrance, a ready out-let, and a strong Fort under his Majesties command.

That in lieu of this assistance contributed by the King of *Denmark*, his Majesty will oblige himself, and ratifie in expresse Articles to restore into the Magazines of *Denmark* a like proportion of arms and ammunition, to repay and defray the charges of the money lent, and levies of Horse, and so soon as his affairs shall be settled, and himself in a condition to doe it, upon all occasions to contribute the assistance of his Fleet, in maintaining his right and Title to the Customes of the Sound, against all persons whatsoever; and to ratifie the Treaty that was made last by Sir *Thomas Roe*, to enter into a League offensive and defensive, against intestine rebellions. In pursuance of which Treaty, while the negotiations and Articles may be severally perfected, his Majesty doth expect this first supply of monies, and arms, present affairs not admitting a delay in the same.

That in case the King of *Denmark* will lend money upon jewels, there is in *Holland* a great Collar of Rubies, and another of Rubies and Pearl, that may be sent to him, or delivered to his Agent here: Who may have order to pay the money here: or any other Jewels.

That there have been in discourses, several Propositions of Accommodation made by them to the King, to which the King hath at all times made more advances on His part, than in reason could have been expected from Him, but the difficulties have still risen on theirs.

And that whereas his Majesty doth understand, that a person is addressed to the King of *Denmark* from His Parliament, to infuse misunderstandings abroad with his Majesties Allies, as they have done at home among his people, his Majesty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within his Dominions, to become an Intelligencer and Spy upon the Treaty and Negotiations between their Majesties, but that he be dismist and sent away so soon as ever he shall arrive.

Note this paper concerning *Cockram* was not intercepted amongst the Kings Letters, but is otherwise attested.

His

His MAJESTIES

ANSVVER

to a

PAMPHLET

Intituled,

A Declaration of the Comm
of England *in Parliam*
assembled, expressing their Re
sons and Grounds of passi
the late Resolutions touch-
ing no farther Addresse
or Application to be
made to the
KING.

Published by His MAJESTIES appointm

I Believe that it was never heard of
now, that heavy imputations were laid
any Man (I speak not, now, of KINGS,
I confesse makes the case, yet, more strange
unjust) and He not permitted to
lesse to answer them: but so it is now with
KING: which does (though silently) yet
ject Him to as great an Imputation
is any in the said Declaration; for those

know no better, may think that He cannot, because He does not Answer it: Wherefore I hold it my duty (knowing these things better than every ordinary Man) to doe my best that the KING should not be injured, by the ignorance of His people; and albeit, I (lying under persecution, for my Conscience, and Love to Regall Authority) have not the means, in every thing, to make full Probations; yet, I am confident, in all the most materiall points, for to make the truth of the KINGS innocency, appear; that I shall satisfie any impartiall judicious Reader.

What the issue of former Addresses to the KING hath been, Is most certainly known to all the World; but, where the Fault rests, whereby peace hath not ensued, bare Asseverations, without proofs cannot, I am sure, satisfie any Judicious Reader. And indeed, it seems to me, that the Penner of this, seeks more to take the ears of the ignorant Multitude, with big words and bold Assertions, than to satisfie rationall Men with reall proofs or true arguments. For, at the very first he begs the Question; taking it for granted, that the KING would ease the *sighs* and *groans*, dry the *tears*, and stanch the *blood* of his distressed Subjects. Alas! is it he that keeps Armies on foot when there is none to oppose? Is it He, that will not lay down Excise, Taxations, and Free-Quarterings? But, it is Hee indeed, who was so far from power, even at that time, (being safe since) that, in most things, He wanted the liberty of any free-born man: It is He, who never refused to ease his people of their Grievances; witnesse more Acts of Grace past in His Reign, than (to speak within my compasse) in any five Kings or Queens times that were before Him: Moreover, It is He, who to settle the present unhappy distractions, and (as the best means to it) to obtain a personall Treaty, hath offered so much; that (to say truth)

truth during his own time. He hath left himself little more than the title of a KING, as plainly appears by His Message from the Isle of *Wight*, concerning the Militia and choice of the Officers of State, and Privy-Counsellors, besides other points of complying, which it is needlesse here to mention.

Good God! are these *Offers fit for them to receive*? Have they *tendred such propositions that might occasion the World to judge that they yeelded up, not only their wills and affections, but their reasons also, and judgements, for obtaining a true peace or good accommodation*? Is it true, that if they can shew what reasonable they could have asked more, or, wherein the KINGS offers were deficient (either in point of security, or, by withholding from any of His Subjects, a jot of their just priviledges) then they said somewhat to challenge belief: Bare Asseverations, even against what a man sees, will not get credit with any, but such who abandon their judgements to an implicit Faith: Nor can the determinations of all the Parliaments in the World, make a thing just or necessary, if it be not so of it self: And can it be imagined, that any, who were ever acquainted with the passages at the Treaties of *Oxford* and *Uxbridge*, will believe (though it be said) that *the propositions tendred at Newcastle, were the same in effect, which had been presented to the King before, in the midst of His Strength and Forces*? Indeed me thinks such grosse slips as these should at least make a man be wary how to believe such things, for which he sees no proofs: And yet it shall seem, that a man must either take their word for good payment, or remain unsatisfied; for a little after it is said, That *the Kings first unexpected, and conditional Answers or Denials might justly have made them consider of other course for settling the Kingdome in peace and safety, without any further application*;

ever shew wherein the strangeness of His
nswers or Denials consists: And I should
ink that those Reasons, upon which the lay-
g by of a KINGs authority is grounded (for
is no lesse) ought to be particularly mentio-
ed for the Worlds satisfaction, and not in-
olved in general big words: for it thereby
ems, that it is their force of Arms, more then
st of Reason, which they trust to for procu-
ng of obedience to their Determinations, or
lief to what they say: Otherwayes, can it
imagined, that their saying, That *their last*
propositions were to be qualified, that (*where it*
might stand with the publick safety) *the wonted*
scruples or Objections were prevented or remo-
ved, can give satisfaction to any rational man,
ho hath seen all their former propositions?
, it is most evident, that their Demands
e always increased with their good for-
ne.

And for their great Condescention to a *Per-*
al Treaty (which, under favour, can scarcely
called so; for the KING, though He had
anted what was desired, was not to come,
ther to, nor near *London*, but to stay in the
le of Wight, and there to treat with Commis-
ers) upon signing the four Bils; Surely,
y incurred therein but little danger; for
is most evident, that they contain the very
bstance of the most essentiall parts of their
mands; which being once granted, the KING
uld neither have had power to deny, nor a-
thing left worth the refusing; for after He
confessed, that He had taken up Arms, to
ake the Liberty of His people, (whereas it
s only for the defence of his own Rights)
had likewise condemned all those, who
faithfully served him, of Rebellion; and
He had totally devested Himself, His
s and Successors for ever, of the power of
sword; whereby the protection of His
(which is one of the most essentiall and

necessary

necessary Rights belonging to Regall ... cy, is totally torn away from the Crown ... that by a silent confession, He had done ... self and Successours an irreparable ... concerning the Great-seal (I speak not ... other two Bils, neither of which are of ... importance) what was there more for Him ... grant (worth the insisting upon) after ... Concessions? or, indeed what power was ... Him to deny any thing? So that the ... necessity of giving the Answer He did ... it was no absolute refusall) is most evident, ... lesse He had resolved to have lived in ... without Honour, and to have given His ... ple peace, without safety, by abandoning ... to an arbitrary and unlimited power of the ... Houses for ever, concerning the levying ... Land or Sea Forces without stinting of ... bers, or distinction of persons; and for ... ments, to levy such sums of monies in such ... and by such wayes and means as they ... think fit and appoint. And now I cannot ... ask; Is this the Militia that the KING ... tends for? or did ever any KING of ... pretend to, or seek for such a power? ... no: But this is a new Militia, and take ... left this should prove like the Roman ... *Cohorts*, that what they did in choosing ... changing Emperours, these doe not to the ... vernment; by moulding and altering it ... ding to their fancies. Now, my expectation ... clear this point concerning the four Bills ... almost made me forget a most material Que ... stion: I wonder much wherein the danger ... sist of a personal Treaty with the KING, ... since He was last at *Newcastle*? Surely He ... not bring Forces along with Him, to awe ... two Houses of Parliament: and it is ... known that He hath not money to raise an ... my: and truly there is as little fear that the ... loquence of His Tongue should work Mi ... but on the contrary, if He were so ill a ...

you describe Him to be, whatsoever He shall
or write, must more prejudice Him than
; for let Him never flatter Himself, it must
clear, not doubtfull, Reason, that can pre-
il against that great visible prevailing pow-
which now opposes Him: nor doe I say it
; but certainly lesse can doe it: Where is
the danger! Believe it, Reason will hard-
maintain those who are afraid of her.

After this, it is said, That *they had cause*
ugh to remember. that the KING sometimes
to receive their humble Petitions: but,
never tell, where, nor when, which I am
confident they cannot; but I am certain,
the KING hath sent divers Messages of
to them, unto which He hath yet had no
; namely, His last from *Oxford* of the
of *January* 1645. and all the rest since. As
the fight at *Brainford*, whosoever will read
collection of the Declarations in print, up-
that subject, will clearly finde that the
NG hath more reason to complain, that
under colour of Treaty, sought to environ
with their Forces; then they, for what
then did; and His Retreat was neither for
, nor with shame; for the appearing of the
made him retard, not hasten His Or-
for retiring, which divers hours (before
appearing) He had given: which He did
any losse at all, but (on the contrary)
with more Arms, eleven Colours,
fifteen peeces of Ordinance (beside good
of Ammunition) than He had before:
for cruelty, there was not a drop of blood
but in the heat of the fight, for I saw
five hundred Prisoners, who (only pro-
never after to bear arms against the
G) were freely released.

Again, they seem to have good Memories,
That the King once sent them a specious
of renewing a Treaty, when at the same
His Messenger was instructed how to ma-
nage

nage that bloody Massacre in London, *was then designed by vertue of the KINGS Commission since published.* And hath the KING sent but one Message for the renewing of Treaty? Then what was that from *Tavistock* in *August* 1644. and five others from *Oxford* the next year? But indeed this, that is here mentioned, they knew not how to answer that at that time they knew not the way of filing; but by this forged accusation against the Messenger; who, I dare say, knew nothing of that which might have been (at that time) intended for the KINGS service, by some who had more zeal than judgement: But that there was a Massacre intended, or that any Commission from the KING should countenance such a designe, is a most notorious slander. As for the KINGS mentioned Letter to the QUEEN, I am confident that any judicious Reader will finde the Glosse made upon it, very much wrested: And certainly after Ages will think these times very barbarous, wherein private Letters betwixt Man and Wife are published to open view: And in other Countries there is such respect carried to private Letters of Princes that (to my knowledge) the last Emperour in the greatest heat of the *Bohemian* War, having intercepted a Packet, wherein were private Letters to King *James* of blessed memory (who was then known no great Friend to the *Emperour*) from His only Daughter, then avowedly the *Emperours* greatest Enemy; yet He sent them to the KING, without the least offer of violence to the Seals.

And now I come to their Determination upon the whole matter, what course they have resolved to take with the KING? Their words are, *But notwithstanding this and other former Tenders, We have now received such a Denial that We are in despair of any good by Address to the KING; neither must We be so injurious to the people in further delaying their settlement*

any more to presse His consent to these or any other Propositions. Besides, It is resolved upon the Question, *That they will receive no more any Message from the KING*; and doe enjoyne, *That no persons presume to receive or bring any Message from the KING to both or either Houses of Parliament, or to any other person* Thus you see, that the KING is laid by; But that is not all; for He must neither justifie His innocency against Calumny, nor is there any way left Him to mend any Errour that He may have committed: Is this a just way of proceeding? when truth, though offered, must not be heard; and that no way must be left to recant an Errour? And why all this severity? Because (as I have already shown you) the KING will not injure His Conscience or Honour, nor suffer his people to be oppressed; to which they give the term of such a *Denyall*, though really it was none. But since they thus seek to hoodwink the people, it is no great wonder that they forced the KING to repent him of those faults, which he never committed: And I believe all indifferent men will easily judge of the KINGS innocency, even by their way of accusation: for those who will lay such high Crimes to his charge, as the *breach of Oaths, Vows, Protestations*, and *Imprecations*, would not spare to bring their proofs if they had any: But on the contrary, It is known to all the world, that He had not suffered as he has done, if He would have dispensed with that part of His *Coronation* Oath, which He made to the Clergy; which is a great signe that He makes slight of His engagements: of which it is so universally known that He has been so religiously carefull, as I told it a wrong to His innocency, to seek to cover Him of such slanders, for which there are no proofs alledged; for Malice being once [illegible] is best answered with Neglect and Silence. And was there ever greater, or more [illegible] malice, then to offer to put the horrid

slander

slander of Paricide upon Him, who was
nently known to be as obedient and lov
Son to His blessed Father, as any History
make mention of? But indeed the losse of
chell doth fitly follow, to shew how
when it is at the hight is ordinarily acco
nied; for there are none but ignorant or
getfull men, who know not that it was
the want of assistance, from the two Hou
Parliament (contrary to their publick ge
Engagement) that lost *Rochell*: and th
nothing more cleer (to any who hath
French Occurrences) then that reall assi
which the KING, to the uttermost of his
er, gave to those of the Religion at that
made the Cardinall of *Richelieu* an irrecon
able enemy to the KING: wherefore I
not but say, that it is a strange forgetfull
nesse to charge the KING with that which
evidently other mens faults.

There are also other things, that, to
knowing man, will rather seem Jeers th
cusations, as the *German Horse*, and *Sp*
Fleet in the year 1639. But my affection
not so blinde me, as to say, that the K
never erred; yet, as when a just Debt is
Bonds ought to be cancelled; so Griev
be they never so just, being once rad
ought no more to be objected as Errors.
it is no Paradox, to affirm, that truths,
way told, are no better than Slanders;
such are the Catalogue of Grievances he
numerated; which, when they are well
mined, every one of them will not be
such as here they are described to be.

Now as concerning those Discourses
mention the beginnings of these tr
(which are in two several places of this D
ration) I will only say this; that wh
KING did upon those occasions, was
to defend the Rights of His Crown,
were, and are evidently sought to be

Him; nor can I acknowledge all those Relations to be true, such as *private Levies of Men by Popish Agents, arming of Papists in the North, calling in of Danish Forces*, and the like: And as for the stale slander of *calling up the Northern Army*, now renewed; it is well known, that the two Houses (even at that time) were not so partiall to the KING, as to have concealed a practise of that kinde, if they could have got it sufficiently proved.

But if the *Irish Rebellion* can be justly charged upon the KING, then I shall not blame any for believing all the rest of the Allegations against Him; only I protest against all Rebels testimony, as good proof; it being best certain by experience; that they, who make no conscience of rebelling, will make use of lying, when it is for their advantage. And it is no little wonder, that so grave an Assembly as the House of Commons, should so slightly examine a business of that great weight, as to alledge, that the Scots Greatest did countenance the Irish Rebellion, when now it can be proved by Witnesses without exception, that for many moneths before, till the now Lord Chancellour had the keeping of it, there was nothing at all sealed by Him concerning this great point will I only say, that the KING is innocent, and bid them prove (which, to most accusations, is a sufficient answer,) but I can prove that if the KING had been obeyed in the Irish affairs before He went last into *Scotland*, there had been no Irish Rebellion; and after it was begun, it had, in few moneths, been suppressed, if His directions had been observed; For if the KING had been suffered to have performed the Engagements to the Irish Agents: and disposed of the discontented Irish Army by Sea (according to His contracts with the French and Spanish Ambassadours) there

is nothing more clear, than that there could have been no Rebellion in *Ireland*, because they had wanted both pretence and means to have made one: Then, when it was broken forth, if those vigorous courses had been pursued, which the KING proposed (first to the Scots, then to the English Parliament) doubtlesse that Rebellion had been soon suppressed. But what He proposed took so little effect, that in many moneths after there went nothing sent into *Ireland*, but what the KING himself sent (assisted by the Duke of *Richmond*) before he came from *Scotland*, unto Sir *Robert Steward*; which, though it were little, will be found to have done much service, as may be seen by the said Sir *Roberts* voluntary Testimony, given in writing to the Parliament Commissioners then attending the KING at *Stone*. And certainly a greater evidence for constancy in Religion there cannot be, than the KING shewed in his Irish Treaty: for, in the time that He most needed assistance, it was in His power to have made the Kingdome declare unanimously for Him, and have had the whole Forces thereof employed in His Service, if He would have granted their demand in points of Religion, they not insisting in any thing of Civil government which His Majesty might not have granted without prejudice to Regall Authority; and this can be clearly proved by the Marquesse of *Ormonds* Treaties with the Irish, not without very good evidence by some of the KINGS Letters to the QUEEN, which were taken at *Naseby* that are purposely concealed, lest they should too plainly discover the KINGS detestation of that Rebellion, and His rigid firmnesse to the Protestant profession. Nor can I end this point, without remarking with wonder, that men should have such memories, as again to renew that old slan-

of the *Kings giving Passes to divers Papists, and persons of quality, who headed the Rebels*; of which he to cleared Himself, that He demanded reparation for it, but could not have it, albeit, no shew of proof could be produced for that allegation; as is most plainly to be seen in the first book of the Collection of all Remonstrances, Declarations, &c. *fol. 69. & 70.*

Thus having given a particular answer to the most material points in this Declaration, the rest are such frivolous, malicious, and many of them groundlesse calumnies, that contempt is the best answer for them. Yet one thing more I must observe, that they not only endeavour to make Fables passe for currant coin, but likewise seek to blinde mens judgements, with false inferences upon some Truths: for example: It is true, that *the KING hath sayd in some of His Speeches or Declarations, That He oweth an account of His actions to none but God alone; and that the Houses of Parliament have or seperate have no power, either to make or declare any Law*: But that this is *a foundation for all tyranny*, I must utterly deny: indeed, if it had been said, that *the KING, without the two Houses of Parliament, could make or declare Laws*, then there might be some ground in the Argument: but, before this Parliament, it was never so much as pretended that either or both Houses, without the KING, could make or declare any Law, and certainly His Majesty is not the first and I hope will not be the last) King of *England*, that hath not held Himself accountable to any earthly power; besides it will be found, that in His Majesties position is most agreeable to all Divine and Humane Laws; so far it is, from being *destructive to a Kingdome, or a foundation for Tyranny*. To conclude, I appeal to God, and the World, whether it can be

paralleld by example, or warranted by Justice
that any man should be slandered, yet deny
the sight thereof, and so far from being p
mitted to answer, that if He have erred, t
is no way left Him to acknowledge or m
ie: and yet this is the KINGS present co
dition, who is at this time laid aside, bec
He will not consent that the old fundamen
Laws of this Land be changed, Regal pow
destroyed, nor His People submitted to
new arbitrary Tyrannicall Government.

The Papers which passed between His MAJESTY and the *Ministers* attending the Commissioners of Parliament at the Treaty at *Newport* in the *Isle of Wight*, *An. Dom.* 1648. concerning Episcopacy.

His Majesties *first Paper concerning* Episcopacy.

Charles R.

I Conceive that Episcopal Government is most consonant to the word of God, and of Apostolicall institution, as appears by the Scripture, have been practised by the Apostles themselves, and by them committed and derived to particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising censures over Presbyters and others) and hath ever since to these last times been exercised by Bishops in all the Churches of Christ, and

Acts 14. 23. *Acts* 6. 6. 1 *Cor.* 16. 1. 1 *Cor.* 14. 1 *Cor.* 5. 5. 3 *Joh.* 9. 10. 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. *Titus* 1. 5. *Rev.* 2. 3. 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. *Tit.* 3. 10.

therefore I cannot in conscience consent to
bolish the said government; notwithstan
this my perswasion I shall be glad to be
formed, if our Saviour and the Apostles d
leave the Church at libertie, as they might
tally alter or change the Church-Gover
ment at their pleasure: which if you can
appear to me, then I will confesse that o
My great Scruples is clean taken away:
then there only remains,

That being by My Coronation Oath obl
to maintain Episcopall Government, a
found it settled to my hands: whither I m
consent to the abolishing thereof until
same shall be evidenced to Me, to be consis
to the word of God.

Newport, 2 *Octob.* 1648.

An humble Answer returned to your MA
STIES *Paper, delivered to us*, Octob.
1648.

May it please your Majesty,

WE doe fully agree without hesitati
That these Scriptures cited in th
margent of your Paper, *Acts* 14. 23. *Acts*
6. 1 *Cor.* 16. 1. 1 *Cor.* 14. 1 *Cor* 5. 3. 2
9. 10. doe prove, That the Apostles did
dain Presbyters and Deacons, give rules co
cerning Christian Discipline, and had pow
of censures over Presbyters and others; a
that these places of Scripture, 1 *Tim.* 5.
Titus 1. 5. 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. *Titus* 3. 10. d
prove that *Timothy* and *Titus* had pow
to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and to
cise censures over others; and that the fo
and third chapters of the *Revelations* do pro

That the Angels of the Churches had power of governing of the Churches, and exercising censures; but that either the Apostles, or Timothy and Titus, or the Angels of the Churches were Bishops, as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters, exercising Episcopall Government in that sense; or that the Apostles, did commit and derive to any particular persons as their Substitutes and Successors, any such Episcopall Government; or that this is proved in the least measure by the Scriptures alledged, we doe as fully deny: and therefore doe humbly deny also, that Episcopall Government is therefore most consonant to the word of God, and of Apostolicall institution, or proved so to be by these Scriptures. None of these were Bishops, or practised Episcopall Government, as Bishops are distinct from Presbytery; neither is such an Officer of the Church as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, to be found in the New Testament (by which we humbly conceive that our faith and conscience touching this point, ought to be concluded:) The Name, Office and Work of Bishop and Presbyter being one and the same in all things, and never in the least distinguisht, and is cleerly evident, Titus 1. 5, 7. *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Presbyters in every City, as I had appointed thee. For a Bishop must be blameless.* In which place the Apostles ordaining were altogether invalid and inconsequent, if Presbyter and Bishop were not the same Office, as well as they have the same Name.

The same is manifest, *Acts* 20. 17, 28. And from *Miletus* he sent to *Ephesus*, and called the Presbyters of the Church, to whom he gave this charge, *verse.* 28. *Take heed therefore unto your selves and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops, to feed and govern the Church of God.* Where we observe, that the

Apostle being to leave these Presbyters and never to see their faces more, vers. 28. doth charge them, with the feeding and governing of the Church, as being Bishops of it by Holy Ghosts making: But that the Holy Ghost did make any superior or higher kind of Bishops than these common Presbyters, is not to be found in that or any other Text.

And that under the mouth of two or three witnesses this assertion of ours may stand, we adde to what we have already said, that in the first of *Peter* 5. 1, 2. *The Presbyters which are among you I exhort, who am also a Presbyter, feed the flock of God which is among you, performing the Office of Bishops.* Where it appears plain to us, that under the words used in this place, is expresst whatsoever work the Presbyters doe, more for the government and good of the Church otherwise then is there expresly enjoyned unto Presbyters. By all which that hath been said, the point is rendred most clear to the judgement of most men both ancient and of later times. That there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament, as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter: Neither doth the Scripture afford us the least notice of any qualification required in a Bishop that is not required in a Presbyter; nor any ordination to the Office of a Bishop, distinct from a Presbyter; nor any work or duty charged upon a Bishop, which Presbyters are not enjoyned to doe; nor any greater honour or dignity put upon them. For that double honour which the Apostle speaks of, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. *As due to Presbyters that rule well*, is with a note of especialty affixed to that act or work of labouring in the word of Doctrine, which is not that act wherein Bishops have challenged a singularity or peculiar eminency above the Presbyter.

To that which your Majesty doth conceive That Episcopall Government was practised by the Apostles

Apostles themselves, We humbly answer, That the Apostles, as they were the highest Officers of the Church of Christ, so they were extraordinary in respect of their commission and gifts and office and distinguished from all other Officers, 1 Cor. 12. 28. God hath set some in the Church; first Apostles, secondly Prophets, thirdly Teachers. Ephesians 4. 11. Christ gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors, and some Teachers: Whereby the Apostles are distinguisht from Pastors and Teachers, who are the ordinary Officers of the Church for preaching the word, and government: that they had power and authority to ordain Church-Officers, and to exercise censures in all Churches wee affirm, and withall, that no other persons or officers of the Church may challenge or assume to themselves such power in that respect alone, because the Apostles practised it, except such power belong unto them in common, as well as to the Apostles, by warrant of the Scriptures; for that Government which they practised was Apostolicall, according to that peculiar commission and authority which they had, and no otherwise to be called Episcopall, then, as their Office was to comprehensive as they had power to doe the work of any, or all other Church Officers; In which respect they call themselves *Presbyteri, Diaconi* (but never *Episcopi* in distinct sense.) And therefore we humbly crave leave to say, That to argue the Apostles to have practised Episcopall Government, because they ordained other Officers, and exercised censures; is, as if we should argue a Justice of Peace to be a Constable, because he doth that which a Constable doth in some particulars. It's manifest, that the Office of Bishops and Presbyters were not distinct in the Apostles, they did not act as Bishops in some acts, and as Presbyters in other acts; the distinction of Presbyters

and Bishops being made by men in [illegible] times.

And whereas your Majesty doth conceive, That the Episcopal Government, was by the Apostles, committed and delivered to particular persons, as their Substitutes or their Successours therein (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising censures over Presbyters and others) seeming by the [illegible] ledged places of Scripture, to instance in *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches. We humbly answer.

1. And first to that of *Timothy* and *Titus*, we grant, That *Timothy* and *Titus* had authority and power of ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, and of exercising censures over Presbyters and others, though we cannot say that they had this power as the Apostles Substitutes or Successours in Episcopal Government, nor that they exercised the power they had, as being Bishops in the sense of your Majesty, but as extraordinary Officers or Evangelists which Evangelists were an Office in the Church distinct from Pastors and Teachers, *Ephesians* 4. 11. And that they were Evangelists, it appears by their being sent up and down by the Apostles, or taken along with them in company to severall Churches, as the necessity or occasion of the Church did require; the end of them being expressly called an Evangelist, 2 *Tim.* 4. 5. And neither of them being [illegible] where in Scriptures called Bishops nor were they fixed to *Ephesus* and *Crete*, as Bishops in the Churches committed to them, removed from thence to other places, and never, for ought appears in Scriptures, returned to them again: And it seems clear to us that neither their abode at *Ephesus* and *Crete*, was for any long time, nor so intended by the Apostle, for he employs them there upon occasionall businesse, and expresseth himself

such manner, (*I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some, that they teach no other Doctrin,* 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. *For this cause left I thee in Creet, Titus* 1. 5. As doth not carry the fixing or constituting of a Bishop in a place as a perpetuall Governour: And it is manifest that they were both of them called away from these places, 2 *Tim.* 4. 9. *Do thy diligence to come to me shortly, Titus* 3. 12. *Be diligent to come to me to Nicopolis*; so that they may as well be called Bishops of other City, or Church where they had any constitutable abode, as they are pretended to have been of *Ephesus* and *Creet*, as they are called by the postscripts of these Apostles, the credit of which postscripts we cannot build upon in this point.

2. Secondly, to that of the Angels of the Churches, the Ministers of the Churches are called Stars and Angels, which denominations are Metaphorical and a Mystery, *Rev.* 1. 20. The mystery of the seven Stars, Angels in respect of their mission or sending; Stars in respect of their station and shining. And it seems strange to us, that so many expresse testimonies of Scriptures, and allegoricall denominations or mysteries should be opposed; these Angels being no where called Bishops in vulgar acceptation, nor the word Bishop used in any of *Johns* writings, who calls himself Presbyter, nor any mention of superiority of one presbyter to another, but in Diotrephes affecting it. And as to that which may be said that Epistles are directed to one; we answer, That a number of persons are in the mysterious and prophetick writings exprest in singulars. And we humbly conceive, that being written in an Epistolary stile (for they are as Letters or Epistles to the Churches) these writings are directed as Letters to collective or representative bodies

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use to be, that is to one, but are intended and meant to the body in meeting assembled: that they were so intended is clear to us, because there were in *Ephesus* Bishops, and Presbyters one and the same, to whom the Apostle at his farewell commended the Government of the Church, and by divers expressions in these Epistles, as *Rev.* 2. 5. *To you and to the rest in Thyatira*, by which distinction of you and the rest, we conceive the Church-governments (which were more than one) and the people to be signified, and so cannot consent that any singular person had majority over the rest, or sole power of exercising Church censures and Government spoken of in these Chapters.

Having thus (as we humbly conceive) proved by pregnant places of Scripture compared together, that the Apostles themselves did not institute or practise Episcopal Government, nor commit and derive it to particular persons as their Substitutes or successors therein. We shall in further discharge of our duty to, and for, the more clear and full satisfaction of your Majesty in this point briefly declare into what Officers hands the ordinary and standing Offices of the Church were transmitted and derived by, and from the Apostles. The Apostles had no Successors in *eundem gradum*: The Apostolick office was not derived by succession, being instituted by Christ, by extraordinary and speciall commission; but for the ordinary and standing use and service of the Church, there were ordained only two orders of Officers, viz. Bishops and Deacons, which the Apostle expresseth, *Phil.* 1. 1. *To all the Saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the Bishops and Deacons*: And only of them doth the Apostle give the due characters of Officers: 1 *Tim.* 3. 2, 8. From both which places of Scripture we conclude with

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Expositors both Greek and Latin, that Bishops are the same with Presbyters, and besides Presbyters there is no mention of any other Order, but that of Deacons; of both which Orders there were in the Apostles times, in one City more than one, as in *Philippi* and *Ephesus*. And we humbly offer to your Majesty as observable; That though one Order might be superior to another Order, yet in the same Order of Officers, there was not any one superior to others of the same Order; No Apostle was above an Apostle, no Evangelist above an Evangelist, no Presbyter above a Presbyter, no Deacon above a Deacon: And so we conclude this part, that since Church-Officers are instituted and set in the Church by God, or Jesus Christ: and that Ordination by or in which the Office is conveyed, it is of no other Officers but of Presbyters and Deacons; therefore there are no other Orders of ordinary and standing Officers in the Churches of Christ.

As for the ages immediatly succeeding the Apostles, we answer, 1. Our faith reacheth no further than the holy Scriptures; no humane testimony can beget any more than a humane faith.

2. We answer, That it is agreed upon by learned men, as well such as contend for Episcopacy as others; that the times immediatly succeeding the Apostles, are very dark in respect of the History of the Church.

3. That the most unquestionable Record of those times, gives clear testimony to our assertion, viz. The Epistle of *Clemens* to the *Corinthians*, who reciting the order of Church Officers, expresly limits them to two, Bishops and Deacons: And they whom in one place he call'd Bishops, he always afterwards nameth Presbyters. The Epistles of *Ignatius* pretend indeed to the next antiquity, but are by some suspected as wholly spurious, and

proved

proved by *Videlius* to be so mixed, that it is hard, if not impossible, to know what parts of them are genuine. Besides B. *Usher* in his last Observations on them, *cap.* 18. *pag.* 298. confesseth that of the twelve of his epistles six are counterfeit the other six mixt, and none of them in every respect accounted sincere and genuine.

Fourthly, we grant that not long after the Apostles times, Bishops in some superiority to Presbyters, are by the writers of those times reported to be in the Church, but they were set up not as a Divine Institution, but as an Ecclesiasticall, (as afterwards both Arch-Bishops and Patriarchs were,) which is clear by Doctor *Reynolds* his epistle to Sir *Francis Knowles*; wherein he shews out of Bishop *Jewel*, that *Ambrose*, *Chrysostome*, *Jerome*, *Augustine*, and many more holy Fathers, together with the Apostle *Paul*, agree, that by the word of God there is no difference between a Presbyter and a Bishop: And that *Medina* in the Counsel of *Trent* affirms not only the same Fathers, but also another *Jerome*; *Theodoret*, *Primatius*, *Sedulius*. and *Theophilact* to be of the same judgement: and that with them agreed *Oecumenius*, *Austin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and another *Austin* *Gregory* and *Gratian*, and after them many others, that it was inrol'd in the Canon Law for sound and catholick Doctrin, and publickly taught by learned men; and adds, that all who have laboured in the reformation of the Church for these five hundred years, have taught that all Pastors, be they instituted Bishops or Priests, have equall authority and power by Gods Word. The same way goes *Lumbard* Master of the sentences, and Father of the Schoolmen, who speaking of Presbyters and Deacons, saith, the Primitive Churches had those Orders only; and that we have the Apostles precept for them alone:

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with him agree many of the most eminent of that kinde, and generally all the Canonists; to these we may add *Sextus Senensis*, who testifies for himself and many others, and *Lasimier*, who was called by one of the German Emperours, as one of singular ability and integrity, to inform him and resolve his conscience in questions of that nature, who saith, it is agreed among all in the Apostles times, there was no difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter.

For a conclusion we add, That the doctrin which we have herein propounded to your Majesty concerning the identity of the order of Bishops and Presbyters, is no other than the doctrin published by King *Henry* the eighth, 1543. For all his Subjects to receive, seen and allowed by the Lords both Spiritual and Temporall, with the nether House of Parliament: of these two Orders only (so saith his Books,) that is to say, Priests and Deacons, the Scripture maketh expresse mention, and how they were conferd of by the Apostles by prayer, and imposition of their hands: by all which it seems evident, that the order of Episcopacy, as distinct from Presbyters, is but an Ecclesiastical institution, and therefore not unalterable.

Lastly, we answer, That that Episcopal Government which at first obtained in the Church did really and substantially differ from Episcopal Government, which the Honourable Houses of Parliament desire the abolition of. The Bishop of these times was one presiding in, and joyning with the Presbytery of his Church ruling with them, and not without them, either created and made by the Presbyters chusing out one among themselves, as in *Rome* and *Alexandria*, or chosen by the Church, and confirmed by three or more of his Neighbours of like dignity within the same precinct. Lesser Towns and Villages had

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and might have had Bishops in them as well as populous and eminent Cities, untill the Councel of *Sardis* decreed, that Villages and small Cities should have no Bishops left the name and authority of a Bishop might thereby come into contempt; but of one claiming as his due and right to himself alone, as a Superior or order or degree, all power about Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons, and all jurisdictions, either to exercise himself, or delegate to whom he will of the Laity or Clergy as they distinguish according to the judgement and practise of these in our times; we read not till the latter and corrupter ages of the Church.

By all which it appears, that the present Hierarchy, (the abolition whereof is desired by the Honourable Houses may be accordingly abolished;) and possibly the Bishops of these primitive times might be, they are so far differing one from another.

In answer to that part of your Majesties Paper, wherein you inquire whether our Saviour and his Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty, as they might totally alter or change the Church-government at their pleasure; we humbly conceive that there are substantials belonging to Church-government such are appointed by Christ and his Apostles, which are not in the Churches liberty to alter at pleasure: But as for Arch-Bishops &c. we hope it will appear unto your Majesties conclence, that they are none of the Church-Governours appointed by our Saviour and his Apostles; we beseech your Majesty, rather to look to the originall of them than Succession.

His Majesties *Answer to the Paper delivered to him by the Ministers, attending the Parliaments Commissioners.*

Concerning Church-Government.

C. R.

HIs Majesty upon perusal of your Answer to His Paper of the second of October 1641. findeth that you acknowledge the severall Scriptures cited in the Margin to prove the thing for which they are cited, viz. that the Apostles in their own person, that *Timothy* and *Titus* by authority derived from them, and the Angels of the Churches had power of Church-Government, and did or might actually exercise the same in all the three severall branches in His paper specified; and so in effect you grant all that is desired. For the Bishops challenge no more or other power to belong unto them in respect of their Episcopall offices, as it is distinct from that of Presbyter, then what properly falleth under one of these three: Ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures.

But you presently after deny the persons that exercised the power aforesaid to have been Bishops, or had exercised Episcopal government in that sense as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters; wherein you do in effect deny the very same thing you had before granted: For Episcopall Government in that sense being nothing else but the government of the Churches within a certain precinct commonly called a Diocesse, committed to one single person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters and people of those Churches for that end, since the substance of that Government it self in all the three forementioned particulars is found in the Scriptures, unlesse

you

you will strive about names and words (which tendeth not to profit, but to the subverting of those that seek after truth) you must also acknowledge that Episcopal Government in the sense aforesaid may be sufficiently proved from Scripture.

In that which you say next, and for proof thereof insist upon three several Texts, *Tit.* 1. 5. 7. *Acts* 20. 17. 18. 1 *Pet.* 5. 1. 2. His Majesty conceives (as to the present businesse) that the most that can be proved from all or any of those places, is this, That the word Bishop is there used to signifie a Presbyter, and that consequently the office and work mentioned in those places, as the office and work of a Bishop, are the office and work of a Presbyter; which is confest on all sides, although his Majesty is not sure that the proof will reach so far in each of those places. But from thence to infer an absolute Identity of the Functions of a Bishop and a Presbyter is a fallacy, which his Majesty observes to run in a manner quite along your whole answer: but it appears from the Scriptures, by what you have granted, that single persons (as *Timothy* and *Titus* for example) had authority to perform such acts and offices of Church-government, as his Majesty hath not yet found by any thing represented unto him by you or any other from the Scripture, that a single Presbyter ever had authority to perform; which is enough to prove, that there may be community of names in some places, notwithstanding the Functions themselves are in other places by their proper work sufficiently distinguished.

But for the name *Episcopus* or Bishop, his Majesty hath long since learned from those that are skilfull in the Greek tongue, that it imports properly no more than an Overseer, one that hath the charge or inspection of something committed unto him, as he that is set to watch

watch a Beacon, or to keep Sheep; whence in the New Testament, and in the Ecclesiastical use, it is applyed to such persons as have the care and inspection of the Churches of Christ committed unto them *in Spiritualibus*; as both Bishops and Presbyters have in some sort, but with this difference, that meer Presbyters are *Episcopi gregis*, only they have the oversight of the flock in the duties of preaching, administration of Sacraments, publick prayer, Exhorting, Rebuking, &c. but Bishops are *Episcopi gregis & pastorum* within their severall Precincts in the acts of external government; so that the common work of both Functions is the Ministry of the Gospel, but that which is peculiar to the Function of Bishops as distinguisht from Presbyters, is Church-government. It is not therefore to be wondred if it should happen in the New Testament, the word *Episcopus* to be usually applyed unto Presbyters who were indeed Overseers of the flock, rather than unto Church-governours, who had then a title of greater eminency whereby to distinguish them from ordinary Presbyters, to wit, that of Apostles. But when the government of Churches came into the hands of their Successours; the names were by common usage (which is the best Master of words) very soon appropriated, that of *Episcopus* to the Ecclesiasticall Governour or Bishop of a Dioceſſe, and that of Presbyter to the ordinary Minister or Priest.

His Majesty hath rather cause to wonder, That upon such premises you should conclude with so much confidence, as if the point were rested most clear to the judgement of most men, both ancient and of later times, That there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, when as his Majesty remembreth to have seen cited by such Authours as he hath no reason to suspect, both out

of

of the ancient Fathers and Councels, and
of sundry modern Writers even of those
formed Churches that want Bishops, great
riety of Testimonies to the contrary.

His Majesty is not satisfied with your
swer concerning the Apostles exercise of Epi-
copal government, which you would put
by referring it to their extraordinary calling;
our Saviour himself was the first and chief
Apostle, and Bishop of our Souls, sent by the
Father, and anointed by the Holy Ghost to
be both the Teacher and Governour of his
Church. By that Mission he received auth-
rity, and by unction abilities for these works
which he performed in his own person while
he lived upon the earth: Before he left the
World, that the Church might not want Teach-
ing and Governing to the Worlds end, he chose
certain persons upon whom he conferd both
these powers, whereby they became also A-
postles and Bishops, by making them part-
kers both of his Mission before his Ascention
(*As my Father sent me so I send you*) and of
Unction shortly after his Ascention, when
poured upon them the Holy Ghost at Pentecost.
The Missions both for teaching and governing
(at least for the substance of it) was ordinary
and to continue to the end of the World
(*Matth.* 28. 18, 20. And therefore necessarily
to descend, and be by them transmitted to o-
thers, as their Substitutes or Successours. But
the unction whereby they were enabled to both
Offices or Functions, by the effusion of the
Holy Ghost, in such a plentious measure of
Knowledge, Tongues, Miracles, Prophesying,
Healing, infalibity of Doctrine, discerning of
Spirits, and such like, was indeed extraordi-
nary in them, and in some few others though
in an inferiour measure, as God saw it needful
for the planting of the Churches, and propa-
gation of the Gospel in those primitive times;
and in this which was indeed extraordinary in

them)

them) they were not necessarily to have Successors. But it seems very unreasonable to attribute the exercise of that power, whether of Teaching or Governing to an extraordinary calling, which being of necessary and continual use in the Church, must therefore of necessity be the work of a Function of ordinary and perpetuall use; therefore the acts of governing of the Church were no more nor otherwise in the Apostles, then the acts of teaching the Church were; that is to say, both extraordinary for the manner of performance, in respect of their more than ordinary abilities for the same, and yet both ordinary for the substance of the offices themselves, and the works to be performed therein; and in these two ordinary offices, their ordinary Successors are Presbyters and Bishops; Presbyters *qua* Presbyters immediately succeeding them in the office of Teaching: and Bishops *qua* Bishops immediately in the office of Governing.

The instances of *Timothy* and *Titus*, you likewise endeavoured to avoid by the pretention of an extraordinary calling. But in this answer the insufficiency thereof is such (if all that is said therein could be proved) that his Majesty findeth very little satisfaction.

1. First, you say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were (by office) Evangelists, whereas of *Titus*, the Scripture no where implies any such thing at all, and by your own Rule, Authority without Scripture will beget (if that) but a humane Faith, neither doth the Text clearly prove that *Timothy* was so.

2. Setting aside mens conjectures (which can breed but an humane Faith neither) you cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture, that the Office of an Evangelist is such as you have described it. The work of an Evangelist, which Saint *Paul* exhorteth *Timothy* to doe, seems by the context (2 *Tim.* 2. 4, 5.) to be nothing but diligence in preaching the

Word,

Word, notwithstanding all impediments and oppositions.

3. That which you so confidently affirm, That *Timothy* and *Titus* acted as Evangelists, is not only denyed, but clearly refuted by *Scultetus*, *Gerrard*, and others; yea even with scorn rejected of late, (as his Majesty is informed) by some rigid Presbyterians, as *Gillespie*, *Rutherford*, &c. And that which you so confidently deny, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops, is not only confirmed by the consent testimony of all antiquity (even *Jerom* himself having recorded it, that they were Bishops, and that of St. *Pauls* Ordination) and acknowledged by very many late Divines: but a Catalogue also of 27 Bishops of *Ephesus* lineally succeeding from *Timothy*, out of good Records, is vouched by *Reynolds* against *Hart*, and by other Writers.

4. You affirm, but upon very weak proofs, That they were from *Ephesus* and *Crete* removed to other places. Some that have exactly out of Scripture compared the times and orders of the several journeys and stations of St. *Paul* and *Timothy*, have demonstrated the contrary concerning that particular.

6. Whereas you say it is manifest from the 2 *Tim.* 4. 9. and *Tit.* 3. 12. That they were called away from these places; it doth no more conclude, that they were not Bishops there, or that they might as well be called Bishops of other Churches, then it may be concluded from the attendance of the Divines of the Assembly at *Westminster*, that they are not Parsons or Vicars of their several Parishes.

Lastly, for the Postscripts of these Epistles, though His Majesty lay no great weight upon them, yet He holdeth them to be of great antiquity, and therefore such as in question of fact where there appears no strong evidence to weaken their belief, ought not to be lightly rejected.

Neither

Neither doth this lay any weight at all upon
he Allegory or myſtery of the denomination
n the next point concerning the Angells of
e Church, as you miſtake in your anſwer
hereunto; wherein his Majeſty findes as little
tisfaction as in the laſt point before. The
rength of His Majeſties inſtance lay in this,
at by the judgment of all the ancient and the
eſt modern Writers, and by many probabili-
es in the Text it ſelf, the Angels of the ſeven
hurches were *perſonæ ſingulares*, and ſuch as
ad a Prelacy as well over Paſtors as people
ithin their Churches, and that is in a word
iſhops. And you bring nothing of moment
your anſwer to infirm this: you ſay truly
deed, That thoſe Epiſtles were written in E-
iſtolary ſtile, and ſo (as Letters to collective
representative bodies uſe to be) directed to
, but intended to the body. Which when
u have proved, you are ſo far from weaken-
, that you rather ſtrengthen the Argu-
ent to prove the Angels to have been
ngle perſons: As when his Majeſty ſendeth
Meſſage to His two Houſes, and directs
to the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers,
is intending it to the whole Houſe, doth not
der, but that the Speaker to whom it is di-
ted is one ſingle perſon ſtill. Yet his Majeſty
nnot but obſerve in this (as in ſome parts of
ur anſwer) how willing you are *verſari in*
neralibus, and how unwilling to ſpeak out,
d to declare plainly and directly what your
inion is concerning thoſe Angels, who they
re, whether they were the great Antichriſt
Epiſcopacy: *Salmatius* very peremptorily
go hoc fixum, &c.) affirmeth, the whole
urches, or ſo many individuall Paſtors of
e greater Church in theſe Cities, or the
ole Colledge of Presbyters, in the reſpective
urches, or the ſingular and individuall Pre-
ents of theſe Colledges. For into ſo many
vell opinions are theſe few divided among

themſelves

themselves, who have divided themselves from the common, and received judgement of the Christian Church.

In the following discourse you deny that Apostles were to have any succession their Office, and affirm that they were be only two orders of ordinary and standing Officers in the Church, *viz.* Presbyters, and *Deacons*.

What His Majesty conceiveth concerning the Successors of the Apostles, is in part already declared, *viz.* That they have no Succession *eundem gradum*, in respect of these things which were extraordinary in them, as namely the measure of their gifts, the extent of their charge, the infallibility of their doctrine, and (which is sundry times mentioned as a speciall charge of an Apostle, properly so called) they have seen Christ in the flesh. But in these things that were not extraordinary (and such things are to be judged which are necessary for the service of the Church in all times, as the Office of Teaching, and the power of Governing are) they were to have and hold Succession; and therefore the learned and godly Fathers and Councels of old times, did usually call Bishops the Successors of the Apostles, without any Scrupling thereat.

And as to the standing Officers of the Church, although in the place by you cited *Phil.* 1. 1. 1 *Tim.* 3. 8. there be no mention of Bishops as distinct from Presbyters, but the two Orders only of Bishops, or Presbyters and Deacons; yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church besides, for there apears two other manifest Reasons, why that of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places; the one, Because in the Churches which the Apostles themselves planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the Office of teaching, and took upon themselves the care, and

service

served in their own hands, the power of governing these Churches, for a longer or shorter time, as they saw it expedient for the propagating of the Gospell, before they set Bishops over them; and so it may be probable, that there was as yet no Bishop set over the Church of *Philippi* when Saint *Paul* writ his Epistle to them. The other, because in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the persons to whom he wrote being themselves Bishops, there was no need to write any thing concerning the choice or qualification of any other sort of Officers, than such as belonged to their ordination or injunction, which were Presbyters and Deacons only, and no Bishops.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

1. First, His Majesty believeth, that although faith is an assent unto truth supernaturall, or of divine Revelation, reacheth no further than the Scriptures: yet in matters of fact humane testimonies may beget a faith, though humane, yet certain and infallible, as by credit of Histories we have an infallible faith that *Aristotle* was a Greek Philosopher, and *Cicero* a Roman Orator.

2. The darknesse of these times in respect of the History of the Church, is a very strong argument for Episcopacy; for that notwithstanding the darknesse of the times there is found so full and clear a proof, by the unquestioned Catalogues extant in ancient Writers of the Bishops of sundry famous Cities, as *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Rome*, *Ephesus*, &c. in a continued succession from the Apostles, as scarce any other matter of fact hath the like.

3. In *Clements* testimony cited by you, His Majesty conceiveth you make use of your old plea, from the promiscuous use of the words, under the distinction of the things; for who

can doubt of *Clements* opinion concerning the distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, who either readeth his whole epistle, or considereth that he himself was a Bishop in that sense, even by the confession of *Videlius* himself, a man never yet suspected to favour Bishops, who saith after the death of *Linus* and *Cletus*, *Clemens suscepit Episcopi nomen retinuit, quia jam invaluerat distinctio Episcopi & Presbyteri*: and for *Ignatius* his Epistles, though some of late, out of their partiall dis-affection to Bishops, have endeavoured to discredit the whole volume of them by all possible means, without any reason either of ingenuity or truth; yet sundry of them are such, as being attested by the suffrages of antiquity, cannot with any forehead be denyed to be his; and there is scarce any of them which doth not give testimony to the Prelacy of a Bishop above a Presbyter: *Ignatius* himself was a Bishop of *Antioch*, and a holy Martyr for the faith of CHRIST.

4. You grant that not long after the Apostles times, Bishops are found in the Writings of those times, reported as in some superiority to Presbyters; but you might have added further out of these Writers (if you had pleased) that they were some of them, as *James* at *Jerusalem*, *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, *Titus* in *Crete*, *Mark* at *Alexandria*, *Linus* and *Clement* at *Rome*, *Polycarpus* at *Smyrna*, constituted and ordained Bishops of these places by the Apostles themselves, and all of them reputed Successors to the Apostles in their Episcopall Office. And His Majesty presumeth you could not be ignorant, that all, or most of the testimonies you recite of the ancient Fathers, Writers of the middle ages, Schoolmen and Canonists, and the book published under King *Henry* the 8. do but either import the promiscuous and indifferent use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, whereof advantage ought not to be made to take away the difference of the things;

lse they relate to a School point (which in re-
pect of the thing it self is but a very nicety)
isputed *pro* and *con* by curious Questionists,
Utrum Episcopatus sit ordo vel gradus, both
des in the mean time acknowledging the
ight of Church-Government to be in the Bi-
ops alone, and not in the Presbyters; as also
at there may be produced either from the same
Writers, or from others of as good authority
credit, testimonies both for number and
learnesse, far beyond those by you mentioned
o assert the three different degrees or orders
all them whether you will) of Ecclesiasticall
unctions (*viz.*) the Bishop, the Presbyter, and
e Deacon.

As to that which you adde lastly, concern-
g the difference between primitive Episcopa-
and the present Hierarchy, albeit His Ma-
sty doth conceive that the accessions, or ad-
ions granted by the favour of His Royall
ogenitors, for the enlarging of the power or
iviledges of Bishops, have not made, nor
deed can make the Government really and
bstantially to differ from what formerly it
, no more than the additon of Arms or Or-
ments can make a body really and substanti-
y to differ from it self naked, or devested of
e same; nor can think it either necessary or
t expedient, that the elections of the Bishops
d some other circumstantialls touching their
ons or Office, should be in all respects the
e under Christian Princes, as it was when
istians lived among Pagans, and under per-
utions; yet His Majesty so farre approveth
your Answer in that behalf, that he thinketh
well worthy the studies and endeavours of
vines of both opinions, laying aside emula-
and private interests, to reduce Episcopa-
and Presbytery into such a well proporti-
d form of superiority and subordination,
may best resemble the Apostolicall and pri-
ive times, so far forth, as the different con-

dition of the times, and the exigents of all
siderable circumstances will admit, so as
power of Church-Government in the parti-
lar Ordination, which is meerly spirituall,
remain authoritative in the Bishop,
that power not to be exercised without the
currence or assistance of his Presbytery,
Timothy was ordained by the Authority of
Paul, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. but with the concurr
or assistance of the Presbytery, 1 *Tim.* 4
Other powers of government which belong
jurisdiction (though they are in the Bishops
before is expresst) yet the outward exercise
them may be ordered and disposed or limi
by the Soveraign power, to which, by
Laws of the place, and the acknowledgement
the Clergy they are subordinate; but His M
jesty doubteth whether it be in your pow
to give him any perfect assurance, that in
desired abolition of the present Hierarch
the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, and con
quently of Presbytery is neither included
intended.

As to the last part of His Majesties Pap
His Majesty would have been better satisf
if you had been more particular in your a
swer thereunto; You tell him in generall, t
there are substantialls in Church-Govern
appointed by Christ, &c. but you neither
what these substantialls are, nor in wh
hands they are left whereas His Majesty
pected that you would have declared yo
opinions clearly, whether Christ or his Ap
stles left any certain form of Governme
be observed in all Christian Churches; t
whether the same binces all Churches to
particular observation thereof; or whet
they may upon occasion alter the same, eit
in whole or in part. Likewise whether t
certain form of Government which Christ
his Apostles have appointed as perpetuall
unalterable; if they have appointed any

all) be the Epiſcopall or the Presbyterian Government, or ſome other differing from them both.

And whereas in the concluſion you beſeech His Majeſty to look rather to the originall of Biſhops than to their Succeſsion, His Majeſty thinks it needfull to look at both, eſpecially ſince their ſucceſsion is the beſt clue, the moſt certain and ready way to finde out their originall.

His Majeſty having returned you this anſwer, doth profeſſe, that whatever is of weight in yours, ſhall have influence in him; ſo he doubts not but ſomewhat may appear to you in His, which was not ſo clear to you before; and if this debate may have this end, that it diſpoſe others to the temper of accepting peace, as it ſhall Him of endeavouring to give ſatisfaction in all He can to the two Houſes. His Majeſty believes though it hath taken up, it hath not miſ-ſpent His time.

Newport, Octob. 6.

The Answer of the Ministers attending the Commissioners of Parliament, to the second Paper delivered to them by His Majesty, October 6. 1648. delivered to his Majesty, October 17.

May it please your Majesty,

AS in our Paper of *October* the third we did answer to your Majesties of *October* the second, we did, so now again we doe acknowledge, that the Scriptures cited in the Margin of your Majesties Paper do prove, that the Apostles in their own persons, That *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches had power respectively to doe those things, which are in those places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now also, we humbly doe deny, that any of the persons or Officers fore-mentioned were Bishops, as distinct from Presbyters, or did exercise Episcopal Government in that sense: Or that this was in the least measure proved by the alledged Scriptures; and therefore our *Negative* not being to the same point or state of the Question which was *affirmative*. We humbly conceive that we should not be interpreted to have in effect denyed the very same thing, which we had before granted; or to have acknowledged that the severall Scriptures doe prove the thing, for which they are cited by your Majesty: And if that which is granted were all that, by the Scriptures cited in your Margin, your Majesty intended to prove; It will follow, That nothing hath been proved on your Majesties part, to make up that conclusion which is pretended.

As then we stood upon the Negative to the assertion, so we now crave leave to represent to your Majesty, that your reply doth not infirm the evidence given in maintenance thereof. The reason given by your Majesty in

Page

paper, to support your assertion: That the persons that exercised the power aforesaid were Bishops in distinct sense, is taken from a description of Episcopal Government; Which is (as your Majesty saith) nothing else, but the Government of the Churches within a certain precinct (commonly called a Diocesse) committed to one single person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters, and people of those Churches for that end; which Government so prescribed being for substance of the thing it self in all the three forementioned particulars, (ordaining, giving rules of Discipline, and Censures) found in Scriptures, except we will contend about names and words, must be acknowledged in the sense aforesaid to be sufficiently proved from Scriptures: and your Majesty saith further, that the Bishops doe challenge more, or other power to belong to them, in respect of their Episcopal Office, as it is distinct from that of Presbyters, then what properly falls under one of those three.

We desire to speak both to the Bishops of Challenge, and to your Majesties *Description* of *Episcopal Government*. And first to their Challenge; because it is first expresst in your Majesties Reply.

The Challenge we undertake in two respects: 1. In respect of the *power* challenged: 2. In respect of that ground, or *Tenure* upon which the claim is laid. The power challenged consists of three particulars; *Ordaining*, *giving Rules* of Discipline, and *Censures*. No more, no others, in respect of their Episcopal office. We see not, by what warrant this kind of partition is taken forth, by which the Episcopal office is thus shared or divided; the *governing* part into the Bishops hands; the *teaching* and *administring* Sacraments into the Presbyters. For besides that the Scripture makes no such inclosure, or partition

wal'sit appears the challenge is grown to more than was pretended unto in the times of pure Episcopacy. *Jerome*, and *Chrysostome* do both acknowledge for their time, that the Bishop and Presbyter differed only in the matter of Ordination: and learned Doctor *Bilson* makes some abatement in the claim of *three*, saying the things proper to Bishops, which might not be common to Presbyters, are singularly of succeeding, and superiority in ordaining.

The *tenure* or ground upon which the claim is made is Apostolical, which with us is all one with *Divine Institution*. And this, so far as we have learned, hath not been ancient, openly or *generally* avowed in this Church of *England*, either in time of Popery, or of the first Reformation; and whensoever the pretension hath been made, it was not without the contradiction of learned and godly men. The abetters of the challenge, that they might resolve it at last into the Scripture, did choose the most plausible way of ascending by the way of *Succession*, going up the River to find the Head: but when they came to Scripture, and found it like the Head of *Nile* (which cannot be found) they shrowded it under the name an countenance of the *Angels of the Churches* and of *Timothy* and *Titus*. Those that would carry it higher, endeavoured to imp it into the *Apostolical office*, and so at last called it a *Divine institution*, not in force of any *express precept*, but *implicite practise* of the Apostles: and to the *Apostolical office* (excepting the gifts or enablements conferred only extraordinarily) is brought down to be *Episcopal*, and the *Episcopal* raised up to be *Apostolical*. Whereupon it follows, that the *highest* Officers in the Church are put into a *lower* Orb: an *extraordinary* office turned into an *ordinary standing* office, confounded with that which in the Scripture is not found; a *temporary* and an *extinct* office revived. And indeed, if the defi-

nition

nations of both be righty made, they are so incompatible to the same subject, that he that will take both must lose the one: *aut Apostolus Episcopatum, aut Apostolatum Episcopus.* For the Apostles, though they did not in many things, *ut aliud*, yet they acted *alio nomine & alio munere*, then Presbyters, or Bishops can doe; and if they were indeed Bishops, and their government properly Episcopal in distinct sense, then it is not needfull to goe so far about to prove Episcopal government of Divine institution, because they practised it: but to assert expressly that Christ instituted it immediately in them.

For your Majesties *definition* of Episcopal government, it is extracted out of the Bishops of later date than Scripture times, and doth not suite with that Meridian, under which there were more Bishops than one in a Precinct, or Church; and it is as fully competent to Archiepiscopal and Patriarchal government, as Episcopal. The parts of this definition, *materially* and *abstractly* considered, may be found in Scripture. The Apostles *Tymothy* and *Titus* were single persons, but not limited to a Precinct: the government of the *Angels* was limited to a Precinct, but not in single persons. In several offices not to be confounded, the parts of this definition may be found; but the aggregation of them altogether into one ordinary Officer cannot be found. And if that word *ordinary, and standing Government*, had been made the *genus* in your Majesties definition (as it ought to be) we should crave leave to say it would be *gratis dictum*, if not *petitio principii*: for the Scripture doth not put all these parts together in a Bishop, who never borrowed of *Apostles, Evangelists* and *Angels* the matter of governing and ordaining, and left the other of teaching, dispensing Sacraments, and dealing only *in foro interno*, to Presbyters, until after times. By this that

hath been said, it is manifest enough, that we comend not first *de nomine*, about the name of Episcopal Government: which yet (though names serve for distinction) is not called or distinguished by that name in Scripture. Nor secondly, *de opere*, about the work, whether the work of governing, ordering, preaching, &c. be of continuance in the Church, which we clearly acknowledge: But thirdly, *de munere*, about the office, it being a great fallacy to argue, That the Apostles did the same work which Bishops or Presbyters are to doe in ordinary, Therefore they were of the same Office: for as it is said of the liberal and learned Arts, one and the same thing may be handled in divers of them, and yet these Arts are distinguisht by the *formalis ratio* of handling of them; so we say of Officers, they are distinguisht by their Callings and Commissions though not by the work, as all those that are named (*Ephes.* 4. 11.) *Apostles*, *Prophets*, *Evangelists*, *Pastors* and *Teachers*, are deligned to one and the same general and common work: *The work of the Ministry*, vers. 12. And yet they are not therefore all one, for 'tis said *some* Apostles *some* Prophets, *some* Evangelists, and *some* Pastors and Teachers; a Dictator in *Rome* and an ordinary *Tribune*, *Moses* and the subordinate Governours of *Israel*, The Court of *Parliament* and of the *King's Bench*, an *Apostle* and a *Presbyter* or Deacon may agree in some common work, and yet no confusion of Offices followes thereupon.

To that which your Majesty conceives, that the most that can be proved from all, or any of those places, by us alledged (to prove that the Name, Office, & Work of Bishops & Presbyters is one and the same in all things, and not in the least distinguisht) 'is that the word 'Bishop is used in them to signifie a Presbyter, 'and that consequently the Office and Work 'mentioned in these places as the Office and

'Work

Work of a Bishop, are the Office of a Presbyter, which is confessed on all sides. We make this humble return, That though there be no supposition so much as implyed, that the Office of a Bishop and a Presbyter are distinct in any thing (for the names are mutually reciprocal,) yet we take your Majesties concession, that in these times of the Church, and platter of Scripture, there was no distinct Office of Bishops and Presbyters; and consequently that the identity of the Office must stand, untill there can be found a clear distinction or division in the Scriptures, and if we had argued the identity of Functions from the *community* of names, *and some part* of the work, the Argument might have been justly termed a *fallacy*, but we proved them the same Office from the same work, *per omnia*, being allowed so to doe by the fulnesse of those two words used in the *Acts* and St. *Peter* his Epistle, ποιμάνειν and ἐπισκοπεῖν under the force of which words the Bishops claim their power of Government and Jurisdiction, and we found no little weight added to our Argument from that in the *Acts*, where the Apostle departing from the *Ephesian Presbyters or Bishops, as never to see their faces more*, commits (as by a final charge) the Government of that Church both over particular Presbyters, and people; not to *Timothy* who then stood at his elbow, but to the Presbyters under the name of Bishops, *made by the Holy Ghost*, whom we read to have set many Bishops over our Church, not one over either one or many, and the Apostles arguing from the same qualification of a Presbyter and of a Bishop in order to Ordination or putting him into Office, fully proves them to be two names of the same Order or Function: the *diverse Orders* of Presbyter and Deacon, being diversly characterised upon these grounds (we hope without fallacy)

lacy) we conceive it justly proved, that a Bishop and a Presbyter are wholly the same. That *Timothy* and *Titus* were single persons, having authority of Government, we acknowledge, but deny, that from thence any argument can be made unto either single Bishop or Presbyter: for though a single Presbyter hath the power of his Order (as they call it) to preach the Word and dispense the Sacraments, yet by that example of the Presbytery, the *Laying on of hands*, and that Rule of Telling *the Church* in matter of scandal, it seems manifest, that Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a single Presbyter; neither hath your Majesty hitherto proved either the names of Bishops and Presbyters, or the function, to be in other places of Scripture not distinguished: You having wholly waved the notice or answer of that we did insert (and do yet desire some demonstration of the contrary) *viz.* That the Scripture doth not afford us the least notice of any *qualification*, any *ordination*, any *work* or *duty*, any *honour* peculiarly belonging to a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; the assignment of which, or any of them unto a Bishop, by the Scripture, would put the Question near to an issue. That God should intend a distinct and highest kinde of Office for government in the Church, and yet not expresse any qualification, work, or way of constituting and ordaining of him, seems unto us improbable. Concerning the signification of the word *Episcopus*, importing an Overseer or one that hath a charge committed to him: For instance, of watching a Beacon, or keeping Sheep; and the application of the name to such persons as have inspection of the Churches of Christ committed to them *in spiritualibus*: We also give our suffrage, but not to that distinction of *Episcopus gregis* and *Episcopus pastorum gregis*; both because it is the τὸ κατ' ἐξοχὴν

or point in question; and also because your Majesty having signified that *Episcopus* imports a keeper of sheep, yet you have not said that it signifies also a *keeper of Shepherds*. 'As to that 'which is affirmed by your Majesty, that the 'peculiar of the Function of Bishops is Church-'government; and that the reason why the 'word *Episcopus* is so usually applyed to Pres-'bytery, was, because Church-Governours had 'then another title of greater eminency, to 'wit, that of *Apostles*; until the Government 'of the Churches came into the hands of their 'Successors; and then the names were by 'common usage very soon appropriated; That 'of *Episcopus* to Ecclesiastical Governours; 'That of *Presbyters* to the ordinary Ministers. This assertion your Majesty is pleased to make without any demonstration, for the Scripture calls Presbyters, Rulers, and Pastors and Teachers, it calls Governors; and commits to them the charge of feeding and inspection as we have proved, and that without any mention of Church-government peculiar to Bishops; we deny not but some of the Fathers have conceived the notion that Bishops were called Apostles, till the names of *Presbyter* and *Episcopus* became appropriated, which is either an allusion or conceipt, without evidence of Scripture; For, while the Function was one, the names were not divided; when the Function was divided, the name was divided also, and indeed impropriate; but we that look for the same warrant, for the division of an Office, as for the constitution, cannot finde that this appropriation of names was made till afterwards, or in processe of time, as *Theodoret* (one of the Fathers of this conceit) affirms, whose saying when it is run out of the pale of Scripture time, we can no further follow; from which premisses laid altogether, we did conclude the clearnesse of our assertion, That in the Scriptures of the New Testament, a Bishop distinct

distinct from a Presbyter in *Qualification, Ordination, Office or Dignity*, is not found, the contrary whereof, though your Majesty saith, that you have seen confirmed by great variety of credible Testimony, yet we believe those Testimonies are rather strong in asserting, than in demonstrating the Scriptures Originall of a Bishop, which is declared against by a cloud of Witnesses, named in the latter end of our former Answer, unto which we should referre, if matter of right were not proper-tryable by Scripture, as matter of fact is by Testimony.

We said that the Apostles were the highest Order of Officers of the Church, that they were extraordinary, that they were distinguisht from all other Officers and that their government was not *Episcopall*, but *Apostolicall*; to which Answer your Majesty being not satisfied, doth oppose certain assertions. 'That Christ 'himself and the Apostles received their au-'thority by Mission, their ability by Unction; 'That the Mission of the Apostles was ordi-'nary, and to continue to the end of the World; 'but the Unction, whereby they were enabled 'to both Offices and Functions, Teaching and 'Governing, was indeed extraordinary; That 'in their Unction they were not necessarily 'to have successors, but necessarily in their 'Mission or Office of Teaching and Governing; 'That in these two ordinary Offices, their or-'dinary Successors are Presbyters and Bishops; 'That Presbyters *qua* Presbyters doe immedi-'ately succeed them in the Office of Teaching, 'and Bishops *qua* Bishops, immediately in the 'Office of Governing. The demonstration of which last alone would have carried in it more conviction than all these assertions put together; Officers are distinguished by that whereby they are constituted; their Commission, which being produced, signed by one place of Scripture gives surer evidence than a Pedigree

digree drawn forth by such a *series of distinctions as doe not distinguish him* into another Office from a Presbyter; whether this chain of distinction be strong, and the links of it sufficiently tackt together, we crave leave to examine: *Christ* saith Your Majesty, *was the Apostle and Bishop of our souls*, and he made the Apostles both Apostles and Bishops; we doe not conceive that your Majesty means that the Apostles succeeded Christ as the chief Apostle, and that as Bishops they succeeded Christ as a Bishop, lest thereby Christ his *Mission* as an *Apostle and Bishop* might be conceived as ordinary as their *Mission* is said to be: but we apprehend your Majesty to mean, that the Office of Apostle and Bishop was eminently contained in Christs Office, as the Office of a Bishop was eminently contained in that of Apostleship; But thence it will not follow that *inferior* Offices being contained in the *superior eminently*, are therefore existent in it *formally*; or because all *honours and dignities* are eminently contained in your Majesty, would it therefore follow that your Majesty is formally and distinctly a Baron of the Realm, as it is asserted the Apostles to have been Bishops in distinct sense? That *Mission* refers to Office and Authority, and *Unction* onely to ability, we cannot consent: For besides that the breathing of Christ upon his Disciples, saying, *Receive ye the holy Ghost*, doth refer to *Mission* as well as *Unction*, we conceive that in the proper *anointing* of Kings or other Officers, the naturall use and effect of the oyl upon the body was not so much intended as the solemn and ceremonious use of it in the inauguration of them; so that its relation to Office in *Unction*, as well as the conferring of Abilities, else how are Kings, Priests or Prophets said to be anointed? and what good sense could be made of that expression in Scripture, of annointing one in another room; to omit, that Christ by this construction

struction should be called the *Messias* in regard of abilities only. And although we should grant your Majesties explication of *Mission* and *Unction*, yet it will not follow that the Mission of the Apostles was ordinary, and their *Unction* only extraordinary: That into which there is Succession, was ordinary; That into which there is no succession, (for succession is not unto abilities or gifts) extraordinary; and that the Apostles were ordinary Officers in all whereunto there is properly any succession, and that is *Office*. They differed from Bishops in that wherein one Apostle or Officer of the same order might differ from another, to wit, in abilities and measure of Spirit, but not in that wherein one order of Officers is above another by their Office; to which we cannot give consent, for since no man is denominated an Officer from his meer abilities or gifts, so neither can the Apostles be called extraordinary Officers, because of extraordinary gifts but that the Apostles Mission and Office (as well as their abilities) was extraordinary and temporary, doth appear in that it was by immediate commission from Christ, without any intervention of men, either in Election, or ordination for planting an Authoritative governing of all Churches through the world, comprehending in it all other Officers of the Church whatsoever; and therefore it seems to us very unreasonable, that the Office and authority of the Apostles should be drawn down to an ordinary, thereby to make, as it were, a fit *stock*, into which the ordinary Office of a Bishop may be *ingrafted*; nor doth the continuance of Teaching and Governing in Christ himself render his Office therefore Ordinary. The Reason given, That the Office of Teaching and Governing was ordinary in the Apostles, because of the continuance of them in the Church (we crave leave to say) is that great mistake which runs through the whole Stile of your Majesties discourse, for

though

though there be a succession in the *work* of Teaching and Governing, yet there is no Succession in the *Commission or Office* by which the Apostles performed them for the office of *Christ*, of *Apostles*, of *Evangelists*, of *Prophets*. is thence also concluded Ordinary, as to *Teaching* and *Governing*, and the distinction of Offices Extraordinary and Ordinary *ipso facto* destroyed; the Succession may be into the same *work*, not into the same *Commissions and Office*, the ordinary Officers, which are to manage the work of Teaching and Governing, are constituted, settled and limited by warrant of Scripture, as by another Commission than that which the Apostles had. And if your Majesty had shewn us some Record out of Scripture, warranting the division of the Office of teaching and governing into two hands, and the appropriation of teaching to Presbyters, of governing to Bishops, the question had been determined, otherwise we must look upon the dissolving of the Apostolicall Office, and distribution of it into these two hands, as the dictate of men who have a minde, by such a specious Argument, to challenge to themselves the *Keyes of Authority*, and leave the *Word* to the Presbyter.

In our answer to the instances of *Timothy* and *Titus* (which Doctor *Bilson* acknowledgeth to be the main erection of Episcopal power) if the proofs of their being Bishops, be found, or subversion, if the answer that they were Evangelists be good) your Majesty findes very little satisfaction though all that is said therein could be proved.

1. Because the Scriptures no where mention any such things at all, that *Titus* was an Evangelist, neither doth the Text cleerly prove, that *Timothy* was so.

2. The name of *Bishop, the Scriptures neither expresly nor by implication gives to either*

'*either*, the work which they are injoyned to
'do is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pa-
'stors, and Teachers, and cannot of it self
'make a character of one distinct and pro-
'per Office: But that there was such an or-
der of Officers in the Church as Evangelists
reckoned amongst the extraordinary and tem-
porary Offices, and that *Timothy* was one of
that Order, and that both *Timothy* and *Titus*
were not ordained to one particular Church,
but were companions and fellow Labourers
with the Apostles, sent abroad to several
Churches as occasion did require, it is as
we (humbly conceive) clear enough in Scrip-
ture, and not denied by the learned defen-
ders of Episcopal Government, nor (as we
remember) by *Scultetus* himself during the
time of their travailes.

2. To that which you Majesty secondly
saith, 'That we cannot make it appear by
'any Text of Scripture, that the Office of
'Evangelists is such as we have described, his
'work seeming, 2 *Timothy* 2. 4, 5. to be no-
'thing else but diligence in preaching the
'Word, notwithstanding all impediments
'and oppositions, We humly answer, That
exact definitions of these or other Church
Officers are hard to be found in any Text of
Scripture, but by comparing one place of
Scripture with another, it may be proved as
well what they were as what the Apostles
and Presbyters were, the description by an
given being a character made up by collation
of Scriptures, from which Master *Hooker*
Eccles. Polit. lib. 5. doth not much vary,
saying, That *Evangelists were Presbyters of
principall sufficiency whom the Apostles sent
abroad and used as Agents in Ecclesiasti-
call Affairs, wheresoever they saw need* And
that Pastors and Teachers were settled in
some certain charge, and thereby differed
from Evangelists, whose work that it should

be nothing but diligence in preaching, &c. which is common to Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Paſtors, and Teachers, and ſo not diſtinctive of this particular Office, argueth to us, that as the Apoſtles Office was divided into Epiſcopall and Apoſtolical, ſo this alſo is to be divided into Epiſcopall and Evangeliſticall, Ordination and Cenſures belonging to *Timothy* as a Biſhop, and diligence in preaching only being left to the Evangeliſts, which diviſion (as we humbly conceive) is not warranted by the Scripture.

Thirdly, Your Majeſty ſaith, That that which we ſo confidently affirm of *Timothy* and *Titus*, their acting as Evangeliſts, is by ſome denied and refuted, yea even with ſcorn *rejected* by ſome rigid Presbyterians, and that which we ſo confidently deny, that they were Biſhops, is *confirmed* by the conſentient teſtimony of all Antiquity, recorded by *Jerome* himſelf, that they were Biſhops of Saint *Pauls* ordination, acknowledged by very many late Divines, and that a Catalogue of 27. *Biſhops of Epheſus* lineally ſucceeding from *Tymothy*, out of good Record, is vouched by Doctor *Reynolds*, and other Writers.

Our confidence (as your Majeſty is pleaſed to call it) was in our Anſwer expreſt in theſe words, *We cannot ſay*, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Biſhops in the ſenſe of your Majeſty, but *extraordinary Officers* or *Evangeliſts*, in which opinion we were then clear, not out of a totall ignorance of thoſe Teſtimonies which might be alledged againſt it, but from intrinſick arguments out of Scripture, from which your Majeſty hath not produced any one to the contrary, nor is our confidence weakned by ſuch replyes as theſe, the *Scripture* never cals them Biſhops, but the *Fathers* do, the *Scripture* cals *Timothy* an *Evangeliſt*, ſome of late have refuted it, and rejected it

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with scorn; the *Scripture* relates their [illegible] from Church to Church, but *some affirm* them to be fixed at *Ephesus* and in *Creet*, the *Scripture* makes distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were both; we cannot give your Majesty present account of *Sculteţus* and *Gerhards* Arguments, but doe believe that Mr. *Gillespie* and *Rutherford* are able with greater strength to refute that opinion of *Timothy* and *Titus* their being Bishops, then they do (if they do) with scorn reject this of their being Evangelists: As for *testimonies and catalogues* though we undervalue them not, yet your Majesty will be pleased to allow us the use of our Reason, so far as not to erect an Office in the Church which is not found in Scripture, upon *generall appellations* or *titles* and *allusions* frequently found in the Fathers, especially when they speak *vulgarly*, and not as to a point in debate, for even *Jerome*, who as your Majesty saith doth Record, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were made Bishops, and that of S. *Pauls* Ordination doth when he speaks to the point between your Majesty and us, give the Bishops to understand that they are superiour to Presbyters *consuetudine magis quam Dominicæ veritatis dispositione*; for *catalogues* their credit rests upon the first witnesses from whom they are reported by *tradition* from hand to hand, whose writings are many times *suppositions*, *dubious*, or not *extant*; besides that these *catalogues* do resolve themselves into some *Apostle* or *Evangelist* as the first *Bishop*, as the catalogue of *Jerusalem* into the Apostle *James* that of *Antioch* into *Peter*, that of *Rome* into *Peter* and *Paul*, that of *Alexandria* into *Mark*, that of *Ephesus* into *Timothy*, which Apostles and Evangelists can neither themselves be degraded by being made Bishops nor be succeeded in their proper calling or office; and it is easie for us

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to proceed the same way, and to finde many ancient rites and customes generally received in the Church (counted by the ancients *Apostolicall traditions*) as neer the Apostles times as Bishops, which yet, are confessedly, not of *Divine institution*: and further, if *Timothy* and the rest that are first in the *catalogue* were Bishops with such sole power of Ordination and Censures, as is asserted, how came their pretended Successours, who were but *primi Presbyterorum* (as the Fathers themselves call them) to lose so much Episcopall power as was in their predecessors, and as was not recovered in 300. hundred yeers? and therefore we cannot upon any thing yet said, recede from that of our Saviour, *ab initio non sic*, from the beginning it was not so.

'Your Majesty saith, That we affirm but 'upon very weak proofs, that they were from 'Ephesus and Creet removed to other places 'the contrary whereunto hath been demon-'strated by some, who have exactly out of 'Scripture, compared the times, and order 'of the severall journeys, and stations of 'Paul and Timothy.

It is confessed that our assertion, That *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, lies with some stresse upon this that they *removed from place to place*, as they were *sent by* or *accompanied* the Apostles, the proof whereof appears to us, to be of greater strength then can be taken off by the comparison which your Majesty makes of the *Divines of the Assembly at Westminster*. We begin with the *Travells* of *Timothy* as we finde them in order recorded in the Scripture-places, cited in the margin; and we *set forth* from *Berea*, *Acts* 17. 14. where we finde *Timothy*; then next at *Athens*, v. 15. from whence *Paul* sends him to *Thessalonica*, 1 *Thes.* 3. 1, 2. afterward having been in *Macedonia* he came to *Paul* at *Corinth*, *Acts* 18. 5. and after that, he is

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with *Paul* at *Ephesus*, and thence sent by him into *Macedonia*, *Acts* 19. 22. whether S. *Paul* went after him, and was by *Timothy* accompanied into *Asia*, *Acts* 20. 4. who was with him at *Troas*, *v.* 5, 6. who was with him at *Miletus*, *vers.* 17. to which place Saint *Paul* sent for the Presbyters of the Church in *Ephesus*, and gave them that solemn charge to take heed unto *themselves*, and to all the *flock*, over which the holy Ghost hath made them Bishops, not speaking a word of recommendation of that Church to *Timothy*, or of him to the Elders. And if *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus*, he must be so when the first *Epistle* was sent to him, in which he is pretended to receive the charge of exercising his Episcopal power in Ordination and Government; but it is manifest that after this Epistle sent to him, he was in continuall journeys, or absent from *Ephesus*. For *Paul* left him at *Ephesus* when he went from *Macedonia*, 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. and he left him there to exercise his Office, in regulating and ordering that Church and in ordaining; but it was after this time that *Timothy* is found with *Paul* at *Miletus*; for after *Paul* had been at *Miletus*, he went to *Jerusalem*, whence he was sent prisoner to *Rome*, and never came more into *Macedonia*, and at *Rome*, *Heb.* 13. 23. *Phil.* 1. 1. *Philem.* *v* 1. *Col.* 1. 1. *Heb.* 13. 23. finde *Timothy* a prisoner with him; and these Epistles which *Paul* wrote while he was prisoner at *Rome*, namely the Epistle to the *Philippians*, to *Philemon*, to the *Colossians*, to the *Hebrews*, doe make mention of *Timothy* as his companion at these times, nor do we ever finde him again at *Ephesus*, for we finde that *after all this*, towards the end of Saint *Pauls* life, after his first answering before *Nero* and when he said his departing was at hand, he sent for *Timothy* to *Rome*, not from *Ephesus*; 2 *Tim.* 4. 6, 10, 11, 12, 16. for it

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seems that *Timothy* was not there, because *Paul* giving *Timothy* an account of the absence of the most of his companions sent into diverse parts, he saith *Tychicus* have I sent to *Ephesus*. Now if your Majesty shall be pleased to cast up into one totall that which is said; the severall journeys and stations of *Timothy*, the order of them, the time spent in them, the nature of his imployment, to *negotiate the affairs of Christ in severall Churches and places*, the silence of the Scriptures, as touching his being Bishop of any one Church, you will acknowledge that such a man was not a Bishop fixed to one Church or precinct, and then by assuming that *Timothy* was such a man, you will conclude that he was not Bishop of *Ephesus*.

The like conclusion may be enforced from the like premisses, from the instance of *Titus*, whom we finde at *Jerusalem*, *Galat.* 1. 2. before he came to *Creet*, from whence he is sent for to *Nicopolis*, *Tit* 3. 12. and after that he is sent to *Corinth*, from whence he is expected at *Troas*, 2 *Cor.* 2. 12. and met with *Paul* in *Macedonia*, 2 *Cor.* 5. 6. whence he is sent again to *Corinth*, 2 *Cor.* 8. 6. and after all this is neer the time of *Pauls* death at *Rome*, from whence he went not into *Creet*, but unto *Dalmatia*, 2 *Tim* 4. 10. and after this is not heard on in the Scripture; and so we hope your Majesty doth conceive, that we affirm not upon very *weak proofs*, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were from *Ephesus* and *Creet* removed to other places.

In the fifth exception your Majesty takes notice of two places of Scripture cited by us, to prove that they were called away from these places of *Ephesus* and *Creet*; which if they do not conclude much of themselves, yet being accompanied by *two other places* which your Majesty takes no notice of, may seem to conclude more, and these are, 1 *Tim* 5. 3.

1. 3. *Tit* 1. 5. *As I beseught thee to ... still at Ephesus, for this cause* left I thee ... in both which is specified the occasionall ... ployment, for which they made stay in ... places: and the expresions used, *I left* ... thee to *abide still at Ephesus*, I *left* ... *Creet*, do not sound like words of *mission* ... of a man into a Bishoprick, but of an ... *ment* to call them away again; and if the ... and last be put together, his *actuall* reve... of them both, the intimation of his ... tion, that they should not stay there for ... tinuance, and the reason of his beseeching ... one to stay, and of his leaving the other ... hinde him, which was some present de... and distempers in those Churches, they ... put fair to prove that the Apostle *meant* ... to establish them Bishops of those pl... and therefore *did not*. For the *Postscript* ... cause your Majesty layes no great weight ... on them, we shall not be solicitous in ... ducing evidence against them, though they ... bear witnesse in a matter of fact, which in ... opinion *never was*, and in your Ma... judgement *was long before they were* ... and so we conclude this Discourse about ... *mothy* and *Titus* with this Observation ... in the same very Epistle of *Paul* to *Ti*... out of which your Majesty hath endeav... to prove that he was a Bishop, and did ... cise Episcopall Government, there is ... evidence both for Presbyters *imposing* ... in Ordination, and for their *Ruling*.

'In the next point concerning the *Ang*... 'of the Churches, though your Majesty ... 'that you lay no weight upon the *Ang*... 'or *Mystery* of the denomination; yet ... 'assert that the persons bearing that ... 'were *personæ singulares*, and in a word ... *shops*, who yet are never so called in Scr... and the allegoricall denomination of ... gels or Stars, which in the judgement of ...

[illegible] and modern Writers, doth belong to the [illegible] Ministers and Preachers of the Word in generall, is appropriate (as we may so say) to the *Myter* and *Croster staffe*, and so opposed to many expresse testimonies of Scripture. And if your Majesty hath been particular in that, wherein you say the strength of your instance lies, viz. The judgement of all ancient, and of the best modern Writers, and many probabilities in the Text it self, we hope to have made it apparent, that many ancient and eminent Writers, many probabilities out of the Text it self do give evidence to the contrary. To that which is asserted, That these singular persons were Bishops in [illegible] sense, whether we brought any thing [illegible] to infirm this, we humbly submit to your Majesties judgement, and shall [illegible] represent to you: that in your Reply [illegible] have not taken notice of that which in our Answer seems to us of moment, which is this: That in *Mysterious* and *prophetick* [illegible] *visionall representations* (such as this [illegible] the Stars and golden Candlesticks is) a [illegible] of things or persons is usually ex[illegible] in *singular*, and this in visions is the [illegible] way of Representation of things, a [illegible] persons making up one Church, is [illegible] by one *Candlestick*; many Ministers [illegible] up one Presbytery, by one Angell. [illegible] because your Majesty seems to call up[illegible] to be particular, though we cannot name [illegible] Angels, nor are satisfied in our judgement, [illegible] those whom some do undertake to name [illegible] intended by the name of Angels in those [illegible] yet we say, First, That these Epi[illegible] were sent unto the Churches, and that [illegible] the expression of *this thou dost*, or *this* [illegible] *the like*, the *Churches* are respe[illegible] intended; for the *sin reproved*, the *re*[illegible] *commanded*, the *punishments threa*[illegible] to be referred to the Churches, and

not to the singular Angels only; [illegible]
do not think that *Salmasius* did [illegible]
do we, that in formall denomination the [illegible]
gels and *Candlesticks* are the same.

Secondly, The Angels of these Churches or *Rulers* were a *Collective Body*, which we endeavoured to prove by such probations as your Majesty takes no notice of, [illegible] the instance of the Church of *Ephesus*, [illegible] there were many Bishops, to whom the [illegible] of that Church was by Saint *Paul* at his [illegible] all departure from them committed; [illegible] so by that expression, *Revel.* 2. 12. To [illegible] and to the rest in *Thiatira*; which [illegible] makes it very probable, that the [illegible] explained under that *plurality*, to [illegible] like to which many expressions may be [illegible] in these Epistles, which to interpret [illegible] ding to the consentient evidence of [illegible] Scriptures of the New Testament, is not [illegible] only, but Solid and Evidential.

Thirdly, these Writings are directed [illegible] Epistolary Letters to *Collective Bodies* [illegible] are (that is) to *Ours*, but intended to the [illegible] which your Majesty illustrateth by your [illegible] ing a Message to your two Houses, and [illegible] recting it to the Speaker of the House of [illegible] which as it doth not hinder (we [illegible] but that the *Speaker is one single person*, [illegible] it doth not prove at all, that the *Speaker* [illegible] *always the same person*; or if he were, [illegible] therefore because your Message is [illegible] him, he is the *Governour* or *Ruler* of [illegible] Houses in the least: and so your M[illegible] hath given clear instance, that though [illegible] Letters be directed to the *Angels* [illegible] withstanding they might neither be [illegible] nor yet *perpetuall Moderators*. For the [illegible] veral opinions specified in your MAJ[illegible] paper, *three* of them, by calm and [illegible] modation (as we declared before) [illegible] reduced and united amongst themselves,

may be holden without recesse from the received judgement of the Christian Church, by such as are far from meriting that Aspersion, which is cast upon the *Reformed Divines*, by Popish Writers, that they have divided themselves from the common and received judgement of the *Christian Church*; which imputation we hope, was not in your Majesties intention to lay upon us *untill* it be made clear that it is the common and received judgement of the *Christian Church* that *now is*, or of that in *former Ages*, that the Angels of the Churches were Bishops, having Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within their Churches.

In the following Discourse we will deny, that the Apostles were to have any Successours in their Office, and affirmed only *two sorts* of *Ordinary* and *Standing Officers* in the Church, *viz. Presbyters* and *Deacons*. Concerning the former of which your MAJESTY refers to what you had in part already declared. 'That in those things which were extraordinary in the Apostles, as namely the measure of their Gifts, &c. They had no Successours in *eundem gradum*; but in those things which were not extraordinary, as the Office of Teaching and Power of Governing (which are necessary for the Service of the Church in all Times) they were to have and had no Successours: Here your Majesty delivers a Doctrin *new* to us. Namely, that the Apostles had Successors into their Offices, not into their Abilities. For besides that, Succession is not properly into Abilities, but into Office; We must say, that one succeeds another in his Learning or Wit, or Parts, but in his Room and Function: we conceive, that the office Apostolical was extraordinary *in whole*, because their Mission and Commission was so, and the service or work of Teaching and

Governing being to continue in all ... doth not render their Office ordinary ... the Office of *Moses* was not rendred Ordinary ... because many works of Government exercised by him, were re-committed to the ... *ing Elders of Israel* : And if they have Successors, it must be either into their ... Office, or into some parts : Their Succession into the whole (however differing from them in measure of Gifts and peculiar Qualifications) must be called Apostles; the ... Office gives the same Denomination; ... then we shall confesse that Bishops, ... be their Successors in Office, are of Divine *Institution*, because the Apostolicall Office was so; if their *Successors* come into part ... their Office only, the *Presbyters* may as ... be called their *Successors*, as the Bishops, ... so indeed they are called by some of the ancient Fathers, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Hieron*, ... others : Whereas in truth the Apostles ... not properly *Successors* into Office, but the ordinary power of Teaching and Govern ... (which is settled in the Church for ... ance) is instituted and settled in the ... of ordinary Officers by a *new warrant* ... Commission according to the rules of Ordination and calling in the Word, which ... Bishop hath not yet produced for ... and without which he cannot challenge ... upon the generall allusive Speeches ... the Fathers without scruple.

And whereas your Majesty mentions ... *sons* of their work amongst those ... which were *extraordinary* in the Apo ... we could wish that you had declared ... it belong to their Mission or Unction ... we humbly conceive, that their authority ... power to doe their Work in all places ... World, did properly belong to their ... and consequently that the r Office, ... as their Abilities was extraordinary, and ...

your Majesties *own concession* not to be succeeded into by the Bishops.

As to the Orders of standing Officers of the Church your Majesty doth reply, 'That although in the places cited, *Phil.* 1. 1. 1 *Tim.* 3. 8. there be no mention but of the *two Orders only of Bishops or Presbyters, and Deacons*; yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church besides, which we humbly conceive is justly proved, not only because there are no other named, but because there is no rule of ordaining any *third*, no Warrant or *way of Mission*, and so the Argument is as good as can be made, *a non causa ad non effectum*; for we doe not yet apprehend that the Bishops pretending to the Apostolick Office, doe also pretend to the same manner of Mission, nor doe we know that those very many Divines that have asserted *two orders only*, have concluded it from any other grounds then the Scriptures cited.

There appears (as your Majesty saith) two other manifest reasons why the Office of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places. And we humbly conceive there is a third more manifest than these two, viz. because, *It was not*.

'The one reason given by your Majesty, is because in the Churches which the Apostles themselves planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the Office of Teaching, but reserved in their *own hands* the power of governing those Churches for a longer or shorter time before they set Bishops over them. Which under your Majesties favour is not so much a reason why *Bishops are not mentioned* to be in those places as they indeed were not; for variety of reasons (may we say, or conjectures) rendring why Bishops were not set *at first*, as namely, because *fit men* could not be so soon found out, which is *Epiphanius* his [illegible], or for remedy of *Schisme*, which is

Jeromes reason, or because the Apostles [illegible] not *expedient*. which is your Majesties reason doth shew that this cause labours under a manifest weakness; for the Apostles reserving in their own hands the power of governing we grant it, they could no more divest themselves of power of governing then (as Dr. Bilson saith) they could loose their Apostleship had they set up Bishops in all Churches. they had no more parted with their power of governing, than they did in setting up the Presbyters: for we have proved that Presbyters being called *Rulers, Governours, Bishops*, had the power of governing in *Ordinary*, committed to them, as well as the Office of *Teaching*, & that both the *Keyes* (as they are called) were by our Saviour committed into *one hand*, and not by the Apostles divided *into two*: Now we see how the Apostles could reasonably commit the Government of the Church to the Presbyters of *Ephesus*, *Acts* 20. and yet reserve the power of Governing (viz.) in ordinary) in his own hands, who took *his solemn leave of them as never to see their faces more*. As that part of the power of Government which for distinction sake may be called *Legislative*, and which is one of the three forementioned things challenged by the Bishops, viz. *Giving Rules*, the reserving of it in the Apostles hands hindred not; but that in your Majesties judgement *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Crete*, to whom the Apostle gives Rules for ordering and governing of the Church: Nor is there any more reason that the Apostles reserving that part of the power of governing which is called executive in such cases, and upon such occasions as they thought meet should hinder the setting up of Bishops, if they had intended it; and therefore the reserving of power in their hands [illegible] be no greater reason why they did not set up Bishops *at the first*, then that *they never*

and sure (by your Majesties Concession) the Presbyters were placed by the Apostles *first* in the Churches by them planted, and that with power of governing, as we prove by Scripture, you must prove the *super-institution* of a Bishop over the Presbyters by the Apostles in some after times, or else we must conclude that the Bishop got both his name and power of Government out of the Presbyters hand, as the *Tree in the wall* roots out the stones by little and little, as it self grows.

As touching *Philippi*, where your Majesty [illegible], it may be probable there was *yet no Bishop*, it is certain there *were many* like them, who were also at *Ephesus*, to whom if only the Office of Teaching did belong, they had the most laborious and honourable part, that which was lesse honourable being reserved in the Apostles hands, and the Churches left in the mean time without ordinary Government.

The other reason given why two Orders only are mentioned in those places is, because we wrote in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus* to them that were Bishops, so there was no need to write any thing concerning the choice and qualification of any other sort of Officers then such as belonged to their ordination and Inspection, which were Presbyters and Deacons only, and no Bishops.

The former reason why two only Orders are mentioned in the Epistle to the *Philippians* was, because *there was yet no Bishop*; this other reason why the same two only are mentioned in these Epistles, is, because there was no *Bishop to be ordained*; we might own the reason for good, if there may be found any rule for the ordination of the other Order of Bishops in some other place of Scripture, but if *the ordination cannot be found*, how should we [illegible] the Order? and it is reasonable to think, that the Apostle in the Chapter formerly al-

ledged, 1 *Tim.* 3. where he passes imperfectly from the Bishop to the Deacon, would have distinctly expressed, or at least hinted, what sort of Bishop he meant, whether the *Bishop* or *Presbyters*, or the *Presbyter-bishop*, to have avoided the confusion of the name, and to have set as it were some mark of difference in the *Eschocheon* of the Presbyter-bishop, if there had been some other Bishop *of a bigger house*. And whereas your Majesty saith there was no need to write to them about a Bishop in a distinct sense, who belonged not to their ordination and inspection; we conceive that in your Majesties judgement, Bishops might then have ordained Bishops like themselves; for there was then no *Canon* forbidding one single Bishop to ordain another of his own rank, and there being many *Cities* in *Creet*, *Titus* might have found it expedient (as those ancient fathers that call him Arch-Bishop think he did) to have set up Bishops in some of those Cities. So that this reason fights against the principles of those that hold *Timothy* and *Titus* to have been Bishops; for our part we believe that these rules belonged not to *Timothy* and *Titus* with strict limitation to *Ephesus* and *Creet*, but respectively to all the places or Churches where they might come; and to all that had at any time have the Office of ordaining and governing, as it is written in the same Chapter, 1 *Tim.* 3. 14, 15. *Those things I have written unto thee, &c. that thou majest know how to behave thy self in the House of God*, which is the *Church*; and therefore if there had been any proper Character or Qualification of a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, if any *Ordination or Office*, we think the Apostle would have signified it, but because he did not, we conclude (and the more strongly from the insufficiency of your Majesties two reasons) that there are *only two Orders of Officers*, and consequently that a Bishop is not superiour to

Presbyter

Presbyter: for we finde not (as we said in our Answer) that one Officer is superiour to another, who is of the same Order.

Concerning the ages succeeding the Apostles.

Your Majesty having in your first Paper said, 'That you could not in conscience consent to abolish Episcopall Government, because you did conceive it to be of *Apostolicall Institution*, practised by the Apostles themselves, and by them committed and derived to particular persons as their *Successors*, and have ever since, till these last times been exercised by Bishops in all the Churches of Christ:' We thought it necessary in our Answer to subjoyn to that we had said out of the Scriptures, the judgement of divers ancient Writers and Fathers, by whom Bishops were not acknowledged as a *Divine*, but as an *Ecclesiasticall Institution*, as that which might very much conduce both to the easing of your Majesties scruple to consider, that howsoever Episcopall Government was generally currant; yet the superiority was not judged Divine, by some of those that either were themselves Bishops, or lived under that government, and to the vindication of the opinion which we hold, from the imputation of *Novellisme*, or of *recesse* from the judgement of all antiquity.

We doe as firmly believe (as to matter of fact) that *Chrysostome* and *Austin* were Bishops, that *Aristotle* was a Philosopher, *Cicero* an Orator; though we should rather call our faith and belief thereof certain in matter of fact upon the same testimony uncontrold, than infallible in respect of the testimonies themselves. But when your Majesty saith, 'That the darkness of the History of the Church, in the ages succeeding the Apostles, is a strong Argument for Episcopacy, which notwithstanding that darkness hath found so full proof by unquestioned Catalogues, as scarce any other

matter of fact hath found the like. We humbly conceive that those fore mentioned times were dark to the Catalogue makers, who must drive the *series* of Succession from, through those historicall darknesses, and to make up their Catalogues very much from Tradition and Reports, which can give no good Evidence, because they agree not amongst themselves: That which is the great blemish of their evidence is, that the neerer they come to the Apostles times (wherein they should be most of all clear, to establish the succession fair and cleer at first) the more doubtfull they grow, and indeed contradictory to one another, are the Testimonies. Some say that *Clemens* was first Bishop of *Rome* after *Peter*, some say the third: and the intricacies about the order of Succession, in *Linus*, *Anacletus*, *Clemens* and another called *Cletus* (as some affirm) are inextricable. Some say that *Titus* was Bishop of *Creet*, some say Arch-Bishop, and some Bishop of *Dalmatia*. Some say that *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus*; and some say that *John* was Bishop of *Ephesus* at the same time. Some say that *Polycarpus* was first Bishop of *Smyrna*, another saith that he succeeded one *Bucolus*, and another, that *Aristo* was first. Some say that *Alexandria* had but one Bishop, and other Cities two; and others, that there was but one Bishop of one Citie at the same time. And how should those Catalogues be unquestionable, which must be made up of Testimonies that fight one with another? We must confess that the ancient Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Irenæus* &c. made use of Succession as an Argument against *Hereticks*, or Innovators, to prove that they had the *traduces Apostolici seminis*, and that the Godly and Orthodox Fathers were on their side. But that which we now have in hand is Succession in Office; which according to the Catalogues, resolves it self into some Apostle or Evangelist, as the first Bishop of such a

a place, who (as we conceive) could not be Bishops of those places, being of an higher Office; though according to the language of after-times, they might by them that drew up the Catalogues, be so called, because they *planted*, and *founded*, or *watered* those Churches to which they are entituled, and had their greatest residence in them; Or else the Catalogues are drawn from some eminent men that were of great veneration and reverence in the times and places where they lived and Presidents or Moderators of the Presbyteries, whereof themselves were members? From whom to pretend the succession of after-Bishops, is as if it should be said, that *Cæsar* was Successor to the Roman Consuls. And we humbly conceive, that there are some Rites and Ceremonies used continually in the Church of old, which are asserted to be found in the Apostolical and Primitive times, and yet have no colour of Divine Institution, and, which is an Argument above all others, *the Fathers*, whose names we exhibited to your *Majesty* in our *Answer*, were doubtless acquainted with the Catalogues of Bishops who had been before them, and yet did hold them to be of *Ecclesiastical institution*.

And lest your *Majesty* might reply, That however the *Testimonies* and *Catalogues* may vary, or be mistaken in the *order* or *times*, or names of those *persons* that succeeded the *Apostles*, yet all agree, that there was a Succession of some persons; and so, though the credit of the Catalogues be *infirmed*, yet the thing intended is confirmed thereby: We grant, that a succession of men to feed and govern those Churches, while they continued Churches, cannot be denied, and that the Apostles and Evangelists, that planted and watered those Churches (though extraordinary and temporary Officers) were by Ecclesiasticall Writers, *in accordance with the Language and usage of their own times*, called Bishops; and so were other eminent

eminent men, of chief note, *presiding* in the *Presbyteries* of the Cities or Churches, called by such Writers as wrote after the *division* or *distinction* of the names of Presbyters and Bishops: But that those first and ancientest Presbyters were Bishops in proper sense, according to your Majesties distinction, invested with power over Presbyters and people, to whom (as distinct from Presbyters) did belong the power of *Ordaining*, *giving Rules*, and *Censures*, we humbly conceive can never be proved by authentick or competent Testimonies. And granting that your Majesty should prove the Succession of Bishops from the Primitive times *seriatim*: yet if these from whom you draw and through whom you derive it, be found either *more than* Bishops, as Apostles and extraordinary persons, or *lesse than* Bishops, as merely *first* Presbyters, having not one of the *three essentials to Episcopall Government* (mentioned by your Majesty) in their own hand; it will follow that all that your Majesty hath proved by this Succession, is the *Homonymy* and equivocall acceptation of the word *Episcopus*.

For *Clemens* his Testimony, which your Majesty conceiveth to be made use of, as our old fallacy, from the promiscuous use of the words to inferre the distinction of the things; we referre our selves to himself in his Epistle, now in all mens hands, whose testimony we think cannot be eluded, but by the old artifice, of *hiding the Bishop under the Presbyters name*. For they that have read his whole Epistle, and have considered, that himself is called a Bishop, *may doubt of Clemens opinion*, concerning his distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, or rather *not doubt* of it, if only his one Epistle may be impaneld upon the Inquest. Concerning *Ignatius* his Epistles, your Majesty is pleased to use some *earnestnesse* of expression, charging some of late, without any regard of *ingenuity* or *truth*, out of their partiall [illegible]

[illegible] to Bishops, to have endeavoured to dis-
credit his writings. One of those cited by us, can-
not as we conceive be suspected of disaffection
to Bishops; and there are great arguments
drawn out of those Epistles themselves, be-
traying their insincerity, adulterat mixtures,
and *interpollutions*; So that *Ignatius* cannot
be distinctly known in *Ignatius*. And if we
take him in grosse, we make him the *Patron* (as
Baronius and the rest of the Popish Writers
doe) of such rites and observations, as the
Church in his time cannot be thought to have
[illegible]. He doth indeed give testimony to the
Prelacy of a Bishop above a Presbyter; that
which may justly render him suspected is, that
he *gives too much honour* (saith he) *the Bishops*
as Gods high Priests, and *after him* you must
honour the *King*. He was indeed a holy *Mar-*
tyr, and his writings have suffered *Martyrdome*
as well as he; *corruptions could not goe currant,*
but under the credit of worthy names.

That which your Majesty saith in your
[illegible] Paragraph, That we might have added
(if we had pleased) That *James*, *Timothy*,
[illegible] &c. were constituted and ordained Bi-
shops of the forementioned places respectively,
and that all the Bishops of those times were re-
[illegible] Successors to the *Apostles in their Episco-*
pal Office: We could not have added it with-
[illegible] prejudice (as we humbly conceive) to the
[illegible]: For the Apostles did not ordain *any of*
themselves Bishops, nor could they doe it;
[illegible] by your Majesties concession they
[illegible] Bishops before, *viz.* as they were Apo-
[illegible]; nor could any Apostle have his choice
[illegible] *certain Region*, or place to exercise his
[illegible] in, whilest he pleased render him a
[illegible], any more than *Paul* was Bishop of
[illegible], *Peter* of the *Circumcision*. Nei-
[illegible] the Apostles ordain the Evangelists
[illegible] of those places unto which they sent
[illegible] Nor were the Bishops of those times
any

any more than as your Majesty saith, *Successors* to the Apostles, in the Episcopall Office, they *came after* the Apostles in the Churches by them planted, so might Presbyters doe; but that is not properly Succession, at least not Succession into office, and this we lay with a *Salvo* to our assertion, That in those times there were no such Bishops distinct from Presbyters: Neither doe we understand, whether the words *Episcopall Office* in this Section, referre to the Bishops or Apostles; for in reference to Apostles, it insinuates a distinction of the Apostles office, into Apostolicall and Episcopall, or that the office Apostolicall was wholly Episcopall, unto neither of which we can give our consent for Reasons forementioned. To the Testimonies by us recited in proof of two only Orders, Your Majesty answers first, that the promiscuous use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, is imported, That which your Majesty not long ago called *our old policy*, is now your answer only with this difference: We under promiscuous names hold the same office: Your Majesty under promiscuous names supposes two, which if as it is often asserted, was but once proved, we should take it for a determinate of this controversie. Secondly, That they relate to a School-point, or a nicety, *Utrum Episcopatus sit Ordo vel Gradus*, both sides of the Questionists or Disputants in the mean time *acknowledging* the right of Church-government in the Bishops alone; which is confessed by us, that that question as it is stated by Popish Authors is a *curiosum*, to which we have no eye or reverence; but though the same Officers may differ from and excell others of the same Order in gifts and qualifications: Yet the Office it self is one and the same, without difference or degree, as one Apostle or Presbyter, is not superior to another in degree of Office; they that are of the same order are of the same degree in respect

respect of Office, as having power and authority to the same Acts. Nor doth the Scripture warrant or allow any superiority of one over another of the same Order; and therefore the proving of two Orders only in the Church, is a demonstration, that Presbyters and Bishops are the same. In which point the Scripture will counter-balance the testimonies of those that assert three Degrees or Orders, though ten for one. But for easing of your Majesty of the trouble and producing testimonies against those noted by us, we make this humble motion, that the Regiments on both sides may be discharged out of the field, and the point disputed by Dint of holy Scripture, *id verum quod primum*.

Having passed through the argumentative parts of your Majesties Reply, wherein we should account it a great happinesse to have given your Majesty any satisfaction, in order whereunto you pleased to honour us with this employment, we shall contract our selves in the remainder, craving your Majesties pardon, if you shall conceive us to have been too much in the former, and too little in that which follows. We honour the pious intentions and munificence of your Royal Progenitors, and the acknowledge that ornamental accessions granted to the person, doe not make any substantial change in the *Office*; the real difference between that Episcopal Government, which first obtained in the Church, and the present Hierarchy, consists *in ipso regimine & modo regiminis*, which cannot be clearly demonstrated in particulars, untill it be agreed on both sides, what that Episcopacy was then, and what the Hierarchy is now, and then it would appear, whether those three fore-mentioned essentials of Episcopal Government, were the same in both: For the power under Christian Princes, and under Pagan, is one and the same, though the exercise be not. And we humbly [illegible] your Majesties pious advertisement,

(not

(not unlike that of *Constantines*) stirring up men unbyassed with private interests, to study the neerest accomodation and best resemblance to the Apostolical and primitive times. But for your Majesties *Salvo* to the Bishops sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, and that distinction of Ordination, authoritative in the Bishop, and the Concomitant in the Presbytery, which you seem to found upon these two Texts, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. 1 *Tim.* 4 14. and which is used by Dr. *Bilson* and other defenders of Episcopacy, in explication of that Canon of the fourth *Councell* of *Carthage*, which enjoyns the joynt imposition of the Bishops and Presbyters hands, we shall give your Majesty an account when we shall be called to the disquisition thereof; albeit that we doe not for the present see, but that this grounds of your Majesty renders our accommodation to the Apostolical and Primitive times (whereunto to you did exhort us) unfeisable. We notwithstanding doe fully professe our acknowledgement of *subordination* of the *outward exercise* of *Jurisdiction*, to the Soveraign power, and our accomptableness to the Laws of the Land. As for your Majesties *three questions* of great importance, whether there bee a certain form of government left by Christ or his Apostles, to be observed by all Christian Churches; Whether it binde perpetually, or be upon occasion alterable in whole, or in part; Whether that certain form of Government be the Episcopal, Presbyterian, or some other differing from them both: The whole Volume of Ecclesiasticall policy is contained in them; and we hope that neither your Majesty expected of us a particular answer to them at this time, nor will take offence at us if we hold only to that which is the question, in order to the Bill of *Abolition*; for we humbly professe our readiness to serve your Majesty, answering these or any other questions

[illegible] proper *cognizance*, according to the [illegible] of our mean abilities.

[illegible] Majesties condescention in vouch[illegible] the liberty and honour of examining [illegible] learned Reply, clothed in such excellency [illegible], and for your exceeding candour, shew[illegible] such men as we are; and for the accep[illegible] of our humble duty, we render to your [illegible] most humble thanks, and shall pray, [illegible] a pen in the hand of such abilities, [illegible] be imployed in a subject worthy of [illegible]

That your Majesty would please to consider, [illegible] in this point under debate, *succession* is not [illegible] best *clew*, and most *certain* and ready way [illegible] out the *Original*; for to go that way, [illegible] the furthest way about, yea, *to goe* [illegible]; and when you are at the *Spring*, [illegible] *Scripture* it self, you goe to the *Rivers* [illegible] you may seek the *Spring*.

[illegible] that the Lord would guide your Ma[illegible], and the two Houses of Parliament, by [illegible] *hand* of his Councel, and shew you a [illegible] way of healing our unhappy differences, [illegible] settling the Common-wealth of Jesus [illegible], which is the Church; so as all the [illegible] thereof may be under you in all god[illegible] peace and honesty.

[illegible] Majesties *fin all Answer concerning Episco*[illegible], Novemb. 1. 1648.

WHat you have offered by way of Reply to his Majesties second Paper, of *Octo*[illegible] in yours of *October* 17. in order to the [illegible] satisfaction of his conscience in the [illegible] of Episcopacy, His Majesty heard, when [illegible] publickly read by you, with diligent at[illegible], and hath since (so far as His leisure [illegible] permit) taken the same into his private

and

and serious consideration; Wherein his Ma-
jesty not only acknowledgeth your great pa-
and endeavours to conform his judgement a-
cording to such perswasions as your selves
in the matter in debate; but also taketh
cial notice of the civility of your applica-
to him both in the body and conclusion of
Reply: yet he cannot but observe withall
in very many things you either mista
meaning and purpose in that Paper, or
come not up fully enough thereunto in
Reply. Which, to have shewn, will sufficie-
ly remonstrate your present Reply to be
tisfactory in that behalf, without makin
particular answer to every passage in it, w
to a Paper of that length would require
time then his Majesty can think fit (amidst
present weighty affairs) to allow upon a
bate of this nature, especially since his Ma
hath often found mutual returns of long
swers and replyes, to have rather multi
disputes by starting new questions, than
forming the conscience by removing *fa*
scruples.

1. *Reply.* Sect. 1. 2. *As to the Scriptures c*
ted in the margin of his Majesties first Paper.
being granted by you, that those Scriptur
prove the Apostles, and others being
persons to have exercised respectively the
veral points in the paper specified, which
ers (by your own confessions in this Re
Sect. 7. a single person, who is but a meer
byter, hath no right to exercise: And it b
withal evident, that a Bishop in the Eccle
cal sense, and as distinct from a Presbyter,
eth claim to no more than to a peculiar
in the exercise of some, or all of the said
ers, which a meer Presbyter hath not;
conclusion seemeth natural and evide
such a power of Church-government, as
sually call Episcopal, is sufficiently proved
those Scriptures.

2. Re

[illegible] Reply, Sect. 3. 5. *As to the Bishops Challenge.* [illegible] when you speak of a Writ of partition, [illegible] seem to take his Majesties words, as if he [illegible] shared and cantond out the Episcopal Of[illegible] one part to the Bishops alone, another to [illegible] Presbyters alone; and you fall upon the [illegible] again afterwards (*Sect. 6.*) whereas his [illegible] meaning was, and by his words ap[illegible] so to have been, that one part of the [illegible] (*that of teaching, &c.*) was common to [illegible] alike; but the other part (*that of govern[illegible] Churches*) to the Bishop alone.

[illegible]condly, you inferre from his Majesties [illegible], 'That the Bishops Challenge appears [illegible] be grown to more than was formerly pre[illegible] to. Which inference his Majesties [illegible] by you truly cited, if rightly under[illegible] will not bear. For having proved from [illegible] the power of Church-government, [illegible] the three mentioned particulars to have [illegible] exercised by the Apostles, and others; [illegible] Majesty said but this only, 'That the Bi[illegible] challenge no more, or other power to [illegible] unto them, in respect of their Episco[illegible] Office, then what properly falleth under [illegible] of these three. The words are true; for [illegible] believeth they challenge not so much, [illegible] safely say, they challenge no more. But [illegible] inference is not good; for he that saith [illegible] challenge no more, doth not necessarily [illegible] they challenge all that. In the power [illegible] Ordination, which is purely spiritual, his [illegible] conceiveth the Bishops challenge to [illegible] much-what the same in all times of [illegible] Church; And therefore it is, that the mat[illegible] of Ordination is most insisted on, as the [illegible] constant and most evident difference be[illegible] Bishops and Presbyters, especially after [illegible] of *Constantine*, which his Majesty by [illegible] to *Chrysostome* and *Hierome* taketh [illegible] the same you call the times of *Grown E*[illegible]. But his Majesty seeth no necessity,

that

that the Bishops challenge to the power of Ju-
risdiction should be at all times as large as
exercise thereof appeareth at some times
have been; the exercise thereof being va-
according to the various condition of
Church in different times. And therefo
Majesty doth not believe that the Bishops
der Christian Princes doe challenge such
plitude of Jurisdiction to belong unto th
in respect of their Episcopal Office pri
as was exercised in the primitive times by
shops before the dayes of *Constantine*. T
reason of the difference being evident, Th
those former times under Pagan Princes
Church was a distinct Body of it self, di
from the Common-wealth, and so was to
governed by its own Rules, and Rulers.
Bishops therefore of those times, though
had no outward coercive power over
persons, or estates, yet in as much as e
Christian man when he became a Member
the Church, did *ipso facto*, and by that h
voluntary act put himself under their Go
ment, they exercised a very large power of
risdiction *in Spiritualibus*, in making Eccle
stical Canons, receiving accusations, co
ting the accused, examining Witnesses,
ing of crimes, excluding such as they fo
guilty of scandalous offences from the L
Supper, enjoyning penances upon them, c
them out of the Church receiving them a
upon their repentance, &c. And all this
exercised as well over Presbyters as o
But after that the Church under Ch
Princes began to be incorporated into
Common-wealth, whereupon there
necessity follow a complication of the
and Ecclesiastical powers, the Jurisdict
Bishops (in the outward exercise of it)
ordinate unto, and limitable by the Su
Civil power, and hath been, and is at th
so acknowledged by the Bishops of this K

Thir

Thirdly, you seem to affirm in a parenthesis, if nothing were confessed to have been extraordinary in the Apostles but their gifts and endowments only; whereas his Majesty in that place hath in expresse words named as Extraordinaries also, the extent of their charge, and infallibility of their Doctrine, without any meaning to exclude those not named, as their immediate calling, and if there be any other of like reason.

Fourthly, For the Claim to a *jus Divinum*, his Majesty was willing to decline both the term (as being by reason of the different acception of it, subject to misconstruction) and dispute whether by Christ or his Apostles. Nevertheless, although his Majesty had no cause to dislike their opinion; who derive the Episcopall power originally from Christ himself, without whose warrant the Apostles could not either have exercised it themselves or derived it to others; Yet for, that the practise in them is so clear and evident, as the warrant from him expresse but in generall terms (As my Father sent me, so send I you, and the like) His Majesty chose rather (as others have done) to fix the claim of the Church upon that practise, as the more evident way, than upon the warrant, which by reason of the generality of expression would admit more dispute.

Reply. Sect. 6. *As to the definition of Bishop*: First, Whereas you except against it, in that it is competent to Archiepiscopall and Patriarchall Government as well as Episcopall, his Majesty thinketh you might have excepted more justly against it if it had been wanting.

Secondly, His Majesty believeth, that even those persons by you named (*Timothy*, *Titus*, and the Angels) the definition in all the parts thereof is to be found, *viz.* that they had each of them all peculiar charges, and that within

in

in their severall precincts, they had
over Presbyters as well as others.

Neither thirdly, doth his Majesty
needfull that any word be added to
in the definition, or that the Scripture
any where put all the parts of the
together; It would be a hard matter
such a definition of an Apostle, or
or an Evangelist, or a Presbyter, or
or indeed almost of any thing, as that
thereof should be found in any place
ture put altogether.

Fourthly, his Majesty consenteth with
that the point in issue, is not the
Work meerly, but the Office, and that
a fallacy to argue a particular Office
a generall or common Work: But
withall it can be no fallacy to argue
ticular Office, from such a work as
liar to that Office, and is as it were the
ties thereof, and therefore no fallacy
work done by a single person, which
Presbyter hath no right to do, to infer
Office in that person distinct from the
of a Presbyter.

4. *Reply*, Sect. 7. *As to the Scriptures*
by you, viz. Tit. 1. *Acts* 20. 1 *Pet.* 5.
when you say you take his Majesties
cession, That in those times of the
and places of Scripture, there was
Office of Bishops and Presbyters;
take it so, truly you take it *prout*
jesty never gave it you:) and you
it too, more wayes than one; for to
properly, His Majesty made no
at all; it was rather a Prevention
to the present businesse, and to avoid
cessary disputes, which ought not to be
pirited as an acknowledgement of the
of your Expositions of those places.
own expresse words are, 'Although

[illegible] be not sure that the proof will reach so far in each of those places: Which words plainly evidence, that which you call his Majesties Concession to be indeed no concession; but to have been meant according to that form of speech very usuall in Disputations, *Dato, non concesso*. But in that Concession, such as it is, his Majesty is not able to imagine what you could finde whereon to ground those words, 'That in those times of the Church there was no distinct, &c. there being not any thing in the whole passage that carrieth the least sound that way, [illegible] hath relation to any particular times of the Church. Neither is the Concession [illegible] as you take it, as it relateth to those [illegible] of Scripture. What his Majesty said [illegible] confessed on all sides (which are the words [illegible] for a Concession) was but this, That [illegible] (but not granting) the word Bishop to be used in all those places to signifie a Presbyter, the Office and Work in those [illegible] mentioned as the Office and Work of [illegible] are (upon that supposall) the Office and Work of a Presbyter, which is so manifest a truth, that no man without admitting contradictions can say the contrary. But how [illegible] or short that is from what you make [illegible] his Majesties Concession, your selves [illegible] comparing his words with yours may easily judge. But your selves a little after make [illegible] concession, which his Majesty (warned by [illegible] Example, how soon anothers meaning [illegible] be mistaken when his words are altered) [illegible] to take in the same words you give [illegible]. When you say, and you bring reason also to prove it, That it seemeth manifest, that Ordination and Censures are not to [illegible] by a single Presbyter.

[illegible] You repeat your Arguments formerly [illegible] from those places, and presse the same

from

from the force of the words ποιμαίνειν
ἐπισκοπεῖν, and from the [illegible]
of the Text, and otherwise adding [illegible]
his Majesty hath waved the notice of [illegible]
of something by you alledged therein. [illegible]
unto his Majesty saith, that he wa[illegible]
any thing in your former paper, for [illegible]
difficulty he conceived of answering [illegible]
being desirous to contract his [illegible]
knowing to what frailties, Arguments [illegible]
from Names and Words and [illegible]
Expositions of Scripture are subject, [illegible]
by such things as he deemed to be of [illegible]
sideration in order to the end of the [illegible]
debate; to wit the satisfaction of his [illegible]
ment and conscience in the main [illegible]
Otherwise his Majesty could have [illegible]
you, That there are, who by the [illegible]
jectures, grounded (as seems to them) on [illegible]
probabilities in the *text*, interpret [illegible]
in the *Acts* and in St. *Peter* of Bishops [illegible]
perly so called, and in the restrained [illegible]
siasticall sense, rather then of ordinary [illegible]
byters; That supposing them both [illegible]
ordinary Presbyters, the words ποιμαίνειν
& ἐπισκοπεῖν (which signifie to [illegible]
to oversee) might not unfitly be applied [illegible]
as inferior Pastors, in relation to their [illegible]
under their charge and oversight (the [illegible]
being in both the places expressly [illegible]
which hindereth not, but the same [illegible]
may in a more peculiar manner be [illegible]
ted to Bishops in respect of that [illegible]
oversight they have over Presbyters [illegible]
also; That still granting your own [illegible]
tation of the word Bishop in that place [illegible]
tus, it can prove no more then that [illegible]
names in that place are given to the same [illegible]

That from all the premisses in your pa-
there layed together, and supposed true,
Majesty doth not conceive it justly proved,
the Office of a Bishop and Presbyter is
lly the same, but at the most, that the
ces were not in those places distinguished
those Names.

Thirdly, If the assignment of any particu-
qualification, work or duty, unto a Bi-
, distinct from a Presbyter, by the Scrip-
, would (as you say) put this question
to an issue; his Majesty should well
hoped, that it might soon be brought to a
point, and that from the evidence of
Epistles only of S. *Paul* to *Timothy*,
rein as he particularly expresseth the
fication, work, and duty of Presbyters
Deacons, that *Timothy* might know
persons were fit to be ordained unto
Offices: So in the directions given to
throughout those Epistles, he suffi-
describeth the qualification, work and
of a Bishop that *Timothy* might know
to behave himself in the exercise of his
Epall Office, as well in ordaining as in
ning the Church.

As to the signification of the word *Epis-*
the primary signification thereof, and
pplication of it to Church Officers you
owledge: and that the same was after
Ecclesiasticall usage appropriated to Bi-
you deny not: But the distinction of
gregis, & Episcopus pastorum, you
allow. If you disallow it for the un-
of the word as may seem by that pas-
where you say, 'That his Majesty hath
That *Episcopus* signifieth a Keeper of
ards; His Majesty thinketh you
ery well have spared that exception.
there be a person that hath the over-
of many Shepheards under him, there
more impropriety in giving such a per-

son the stile of *Episcopus pastorum*, than he
is in using of the word ἀρχιποίμην
or in calling *Doeg* the Master of Seals
men. And for the thing it self, it cannot
denied, but that the Apostles, and *Timothy*
Titus (by what claim ordinary, or extraordin
as to the present businesse it matters not)
the oversight and authority over many
stors, and were therefore truly and re
Episcopi pastorum.

The appropriation of the names of *Epis*
and *Presbyter* to these distinct Offices,
sidering that it was done so early, and
ceived so universally in the Church, as by
writings of *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, the Canons
monly called of the Apostles, and other
cient evidences doth appear. His Ma
hath great reason to believe, that it was
by consent of the primitive Bishops, m
in honour of the Apostles, out of their
spect and reverence to whose persons,
personall prerogatives, they chose to
themselves Bishops, rather than Apostl
common usage, although they made no
ple to maintain their succession from
Apostles, when they spake of things p
to the Episcopall Function, not to us
occasion the terms of Apostle or Apost
in that sense, the truth of all which is
seen frequently in the writings of the An

The testimonies of so many writers,
cient and modern, as have been produc
the Scripture-originall of Bishops, his
jesty conceiveth to be of so great imp
in a question of this nature, that he
himself bound both in charity and
believe, that so many men of such
would not have asserted the same with
confidence but upon very good ground
men respectively of high estimation a
verend authority in the Church, worth

...ed for their learning and piety of mode-
...e and even passions, of *Orthodox* belief,
...dry of them uninteressed in the quarrell,
...d some of them of later times by interest
...d education byassed rather the other way.
...heir assertions positive, peremptory, and full
...f assurances (*constat & nemo ignorat*, it is
...ear none can be ignorant, and other such
...e expressions.) Namely that Christ con-
...uted Bishops in the Apostles; That it was
...nded upon a divine Law, That *Episcopacy* is
...ἀταξις Θεοῦ, The Ordinance of God;
...at it seemed good to the *holy Ghost* so to
...der it, &c. Insomuch as they counted
...rius an Heretick for holding the contrary.
...d this their judgement they delivered as
... thereunto by divine evidence of Scripture
...θεῖος λόγος διδάσκει, Gods word
...cheth it, *apertis Scripturæ testimoniis*, it ap-
...eth by plain testimonies of Scripture,
...*ex hoc loco*, from this place we
..., and the like) which testimonies should
... be encountred (as his Majesty doth not
... believe they can be) with a cloud of wit-
...s to the contrary for number, and in every
... respect equall thereunto; yet should
... the authority of their evidence in rea-
... be much lessened thereby: in as much as
... witnesse for the Affirmative ought to
... more value then ten for the Negative;
... the testimony of one person that is not
...ssed, then of an hundred that are.
...d whereas you seem in this question to
... this kinds of triall, because matter
...ght is properly triable by Scripture;
...Majesty conceiveth this present question,
...t terms soever proposed, to be yet in
... stating of it, and in the last resolu-
... clearly a question of fact and not of
... For what right soever the *Bishops* have

or pretend to have, must be derived
the fact, or *Christ*, or his *Apostles*. W
matter of fact, if it be not in the most
historicall manner that may be related
Scriptures, but is to be deduced thence by
picall remote inferences, and probability
conjectures, the most rationall and proper
pedient for the finding out of the right
to have recourse to the Judgement, but e
cially to the practise of the nearest and sub
quent times; according to the received Maxi
Lex currit cum Praxi, & Consuetudo op
interpres Legum. Now he that shall finde
all the best *Records* extant, that the *distinct*
Bishops from, and the *superiority over Pre*
ters was so universally, and speedily spread
ver the face of the *whole World*, and
government submitted unto so *unanim*
by the *Presbyters*, that there never was
considerable opposition made there-against
fore *Aerius* (and that cryed down as an
sie) nor since till this last Age: and shall
consider withall, that if *Episcopall govern*
had not had an *indubitable institution*
the *authority* of *Christ* and his *Apostles*,
any *other form* of *Church government*
have pretended to such *institution*, had
the most impossible thing in the world,
there neither was *any outward certain*
to inforce it, nor could be any *generall*
cell to establish it, to have introduced
a *form of government* so suddenly and
ly into all *Christian Churches*, and no
spirit of any one *Presbyter* for ought th
peareth for above 300. yeers, to have
provoked either through zeal, ambiti
other motive, to stand up in the just
of their own and the Churches liberty
such an *usurpation*. His *Majesty* be
that whosoever shall consider the *premis*
gether with the Scripture evidences
brought for that *Government*, will see

enough to conclude the same to have *something of Divine institution* in it, notwithstanding all the evasions and objections that the subtil wit of man can devise to perswade the contrary. And therefore his Majesty thinketh it fit plainly to tell you, that such conjectural interpretations of Scripture, as he hath yet met with in this Argument, how handsomely soever set down, are not Engines of strength enough to remove him from that judgement wherein he hath been settled from his Childhood, and findeth so consonant to the judgement of Antiquity, and to the constant practise of the Christian Church for so many hundred years; which in a matter of this nature ought to weigh more than meer conjectural inferences from Scripture Texts that are not so attested. Which being now once told you, his Majesty thinketh himself discharged from the necessity of making so large and particular an answer to every allegation in the sequel of your Reply, as hitherto he hath done.

6. *Reply, Sect.* 9. As to the Apostles Mission and Succession. To make his answer the shorter to so long a discourse, his Majesty declareth, that his meaning was not by distinguishing the Mission and Unction of the Apostles, so to define them, as if they should relate precisely and exclusively, the one to the office, the other to the abilities, but that they did more especially and eminently so relate: For the Apostles after their last Mission. (*Matth.* 28. 20.) whereby they were further warranted in their Office, and Work, were yet to wait for that promised anointing (*Luke* 24. 49. *Acts* 1.) the speciall effect whereof, was the endowing them with Gifts of the Holy Ghost, for better and more effectuall performing of their work and office. Nor was it his Majesties meaning to restrain the extraordinaries of Apostolicall Office to those Gifts only: as his Majesty afterwards in the same Paper

mentioneth other extraordinaries also, (as before is said) but only to instance in [illegible] Gifts as one sort of extraordinaries, where the Apostles were to have no Successors, [illegible] his Majesties full meaning was, that the whole Apostolical Office (setting aside all and only what was personal and extraordinary in them) consisted in the work of teaching and governing, which being both of necessary and perpetual use in the Church to the worlds end, the Office therefore was also to continue, and consequently the persons of the Apostles be immortal, to be transmitted and derived to others in succession: And that the ordinary Successors of the Apostles immediately, and in the whole Office, both of Teaching and Governing, are properly the Bishops, the Presbyters succeeding them also, but in part, [illegible] into the Office of Teaching only, and [illegible] mediately and subordinately to the Bishops, [illegible] whom they are to be ordained, and authorized thereunto, which his Majesty taketh not to be, as you call it, a dissolving of the Apostolical Office.

Now the ground of what his Majesty [illegible] said concerning the manner of Succession [illegible] the Apostles, that it may appear not to have been said *gratis*, is this, The things which the Scriptures record to have been done by Christ or his Apostles, or by others at their appointment, are of three sorts, some acts of power meerly extraordinary; others acts of extraordinary power, but of necessary and perpetual use: other some lastly, and those not a few, Occasional and Prudential, fitted to the present condition of the Church in several times. To the Apostles in matters of the first sort [illegible] pretends succession, nor are either the Examples of what the Apostles themselves did, or the directions that they gave to others [illegible] they should do in matters of the third sort to be drawn into consequence so far as to be [illegible]

necessary

cessary Rules, binding all succeeding Church-officers in all times to perpetuall observation, so that there remain the things of the middle sort only, which we may call Substantials, in-which the Apostles are to have ordinary and standing Successors. But then the difference will be, by what certain marks, Extraordinaries, Substantials, and Prudentials, may be known, and distinguished each from other. Evident it is, the Scriptures doe not afford any particular discriminating Characters whereby to discern them, the acts of all the three sorts being related in the like narrative forms, and the directions of all the three sorts expressed in the like preceptive forms. Recourse therefore must of necessity be had to those two more general Criterians [the Laws of all humane actions] Reason and Common Usage. Our own Reason will tell us, that instructing the people of God in the Christian Faith, exhorting them to Piety and good Works, administring the Sacraments, &c. which belong to the Office of Teaching: That ordaining of Officers, Inspection over their lives, and Doctrines, and other Administrations of Ecclesiastical affairs belonging to the Office of Governing, are matters of great importance, and necessary concernment to the Churches in all Ages and Times: and therefore were to be committed to standing Officers in a Line of Succession, and accordingly were judged, and the continuance of them preserved in the constant usage of the Churches of Christ: But on the other side the Decrees concerning abstinence from blood, and strangled *Acts* 15. the directions given for the ordering some things in the Church Assemblies, 1 *Cor.* 14. for making provisions for the poor, 1 *Cor.* 16. and for the choice and maintenance of Widows, 1 *Tim.* 5. For the anoyling of the sick, *Jam.* 5. 14. and other like, were but occasionall, prudential, and temporary, and were so

esteemed by the Churches, and the practise of them accordingly laid aside. So for the succession into the Apostolical Office, we finding the Scriptures evidence clear enough, that the Apostles committed to others, as namely to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the power both of Teaching and Governing the Churches. And common Reason and Prudence dictating to us, that it is good for the edifying of the Church, that there should be many Teachers within a competent precinct, but not so that there should be many Governours. And the difference of Bishops and Presbyters to the purposes aforesaid, having been by continual usage received and preserved in the Christian Church, down from the Apostles to the present times; his Majesty conceiveth the succession of Bishops to the Apostles, into so much of their Office as was ordinary and perpetual; and such a distinction of Bishops and Presbyters as his Majesty hath formerly expressed, needeth no further confirmation from Scripture (to such as are willing to make use of their Reason also which in interpreting Scripture upon all occasions they are enforced to doe) nor any thing by you produced in this Paragraph, any further answer; only that distinction of Eminently and Formally, because you illustrate it by instancing in Himself, his Majesty could not but take notice of, which he either understandeth not, or thinketh your illustration there not to be very opposite: For Actions and Operations flow from the Forms of things, and demonstrate the same as effects do their causes. The Apostles therefore acting in the ordinary exercise of Church Government, did act not eminently only, but formally also, as Bishops rather then Apostles.

As concerning Timothy and Titus.

7. *Reply, Sect.* 10. 13. First, whether they were Evangelists or no, his Majesty ne-

seem to dispute. Only, because you often call for Scripture proof, his Majesty thought fit to admonish you, that in your answer you take two things for granted (*viz.* that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, and that Evangelists were such Officers as you described) neither of which, if it should be denyed, you could clearly prove from Scripture alone, without calling in the help of other Writers to attest it, as in your Reply you have now done Mr. *Hookers*; neither have you indeed brought any thing in this Reply out of Scripture to prove either of both sufficient to convince him that was of a contrary minde.

Secondly, you seem (*Sect.* 12) to mistake that which was the third point in that part of his Majesties Paper, which was not whether *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, or no? concerning which his Majesty neither did, nor doth contend) but whether in the Church-government they exercised, they acted as Evangelists (as you affirm) and so only as extraordinary Officers, or not? *Zuinglius* (having said that the name of a Bishop and Evangelist is the same thing) proveth it from 2 *Tim.* 4. and concludeth, *Constat idem fuisse officium*; Bishop and Evangelist the same Office with. *Gerrard* saith, the word Evangelist in that place is taken generally, and not in the special sense; that is to say, for a Minister of the Gospel at large (and the Context there indeed seemeth to import no more) and not for an Evangelist by peculiar Office. And *Scultetus* not only affirmeth, That St. *Paul* appointed *Timothy* and *Titus* to *Ephesus* and *Creet* as Evangelists, but as Church-governors: and saith further, That the Epistles written to them both doe evince it, and also bringeth reasons to prove it. Upon what particular reasons *Gillespy*, &c. reject the conceit of their being as Evangelists, his Majesty certainly knows not: But if this be one of their Argu-

ments (as to their best remembrance [illegible] whom his Majesty had the information [illegible] That *if whatsoever is alledged from the Scripture to have been done by the Apostles, and by* Timothy *and* Titus, *in point of Ordination, Discipline and Government, may be elided by this, that they acted therein as extraordinary Officers. There will be no proof at all from Scripture of any power left in any ordinary Church Officer to the purposes aforesaid.* His Majesty then recommendeth to your most serious thoughts to consider, First, how this concerns their acting as extraordinary Ministers only, extends to the subversion of all Ministers, as well as of the Bishops (since upon this ground, especially the *Socinians* deny all Mission and Ordination of the Ministers in the Church.) And secondly, if the contrary be proved by *Gillespy, &c.* by good Arguments That they acted as ordinary Officers in the Church, then, Whether they have not thereby laid a better foundation for the claim of Bishops, *viz.* of governing the Churches by single persons in ordinary Office) then either they or you are willing to acknowledge.

Thirdly, His Majesty thinketh it a great liberty which you take in rendring the sense of his Reply, as you have done, *viz.* *The Scriptures never call them Bishops but the Fathers doe*: whereas if you had followed his words in that Paper, you might rather have delivered them thus, The Scripture describeth them as Bishops, and the Fathers call them so. For that of your *'The Scripture calls Timothy an Evangelist, 'some of late have refuted it, and rejected it with 'scorn*: You should have said rather, The Scripture doth not any where affirm of *Titus*, or clearly prove of *Timothy*, that they were (in a peculiar office) Evangelists; but that in governing the Churches they acted as Evangelists or extraordinary Officers, is by sundry learned Writers (the evasion it self having been out-

[illegible]minted) refuted, and rejected. For that of yours, 'The Scripture relates their motion from Church to Church, but some affirm them to be fixed at Ephesus and in Crete': It should have been, Neither doth their motion from Church to Church hinder, but that they might afterwards be fixed at *Ephesus* and in *Crete*: Neither doth their being Bishops at *Ephesus* and *Crete* hinder, but they might afterwards, for propogation of the Gospel, be by the Apostles appointment often imployed other where. For that of yours, 'The Scripture makes distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that Timothy and Titus were both': It should have been, The Scripture maketh no such distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but that the same persons might not only successively be both but even at the same time also be called by both Names.

Fourthly, Though you say, *You doe not undervalue the Testimonies and Catalogues mentioned*, yet you endeavour (which commeth not far short of undervaluing) to lessen the reputation of both but too much; Of those Testimonies, by putting them off, as if when they report *Timothy* and *Titus* and others to have been Bishops, they speak but vulgarly, or by way of allusion, and not exactly as to the point in dispute. But of *Hierom*, upon whom you chiefly rely in this Cause, the contrary is evident, who in this Catalogue of Ecclesiasticall Writers, wherein he was to deliver things *Fide Historica*, and to describe the persons of such as are registred in that Catalogue by their proper and known distinctive Titles and Stiles, he expressly stileth *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Mark*, *Polycarp* and others, Bishops of such and such places; and such on the other side as were but meer Presbyters, *Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ*, or *Alexandrinæ Presbyter*, &c. observing the difference constantly and exactly throughout the whole book; that nothing can be more clear, than

that

that he understood the word *Episcopus* no other-wise than in the ordinary ecclesiasticall sense; and as a Bishop is distinct from a Presbyter, As for that passage you alledge out of him, by custom in the judgment of learned men, he must mean the practise of the Apostolick times; and by *Dominica dispositio*, the expresse precept of Christ, unless you will have him contradict what himself hath written in sundry other places: Whose Testimonies in the behalf of Episcopal Superiority, are so clear and frequent in his writings, (although he of all the Ancients be least suspected to favour that Function over-much) yet the Bishops would not refuse to make him *Arbitrator* in the whole Businesse: As for the Catalogues, there will be more convenient place to speak of them afterwards.

Fifthly, Your long discourse concerning the severall stations and removes of *Timothy* and *Titus* (13. 14.) and their being called away from *Ephesus* and *Crete* (15.) His Majesty neither hath time to examine, nor thinketh it more needful (in respect of what he hath said already) so to doe. It is sufficient to make his Majesty at least suspend his assent to your conjectures and inferences: First, that he findeth other learned men, from the like conjectures to have made other inferences; as namely that *Timothy* and *Titus* having accompanied *Paul* in many journeys, *Postea & tandem*, were by him constituted Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Crete*. Secondly, that supposing they were, after the times of the severall Epistles written to them sent by the Apostles to other places, or did accompany them in some of their journeys, even for a long time together, it cannot be concluded thence, that they were not then Bishops of their Churches, or that the Government of their Churches was not commited to their peculiar charge: If it be supposed withal (which is more reasonable) that their absence was commanded by the Apostle, and that they left their Churches

your animos reverendi. Thirdly, that the places which you presse again of 1 Tim. 1.3. and Titus 1.5. weigh so little to the purpose intended by you, even in your own judgements (for you say onely, *They put fair to prove it*) that you cannot expect they should weigh so much in him, as to need any further answer; save onely, that his Majesty knoweth not what great need or use there should be of leaving *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, or *Titus* in *Crete*, for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, with such particular directions and admonitions to them for their care therein, if they were not sent thither as Bishops: For either there were colledges of Presbyters in those places before their comming thither, or there were not; if there were, and that such Colledges had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons without a Bishop; then was there little need of sending *Timothy* and *Titus* so solemnly thither about the work: If there were none, then had *Timothy* and *Titus* power of sole ordination, which is a thing by you very much disliked. Those inconveniences his Majesty thinketh it will be hard wholly to avoid upon your principles.

That discourse you conclude with this observation. *That in the same very Epistle to Timothy, out of which he is endeavoured to be proved a Bishop, there is clear evidence both for Presbyters imposing hands in Ordination, and for their doing:* Yet his Majesty presumeth you cannot be ignorant, that the evidence is not so clear in either particular, but that in the former very many of the Latine Fathers especially, and sundry later Writers, as *Calvin* and others, refer the word προεσβυτερίου to the remoter Collative Grace or Gift, and not to that of Imposition of hands; and so understand it as part of the office of Presbytery, or as we were wont to call it in English, by derivation from the Greek word of *Priesthood* in *Timothy* himself,

himself, and not of a Colledge or Company of Presbyters collectively imposing hands on him: And that the Greek Fathers who take the word collectively, doe yet understand by πρεσβυτέριον there a company of Apostles or Bishops who laid hands on *Timothy* in his Ordination to the Office of a Bishop as was ordinarily done by three joyning in that Act in the Primitive and succeeding times) and not of a Colledge of meer Presbyters. And that in the latter particular, to wit, that of *Ruling*, The place whereon his Majesty conceiveth your Observation to be grounded, hath been by the Adversaries of Episcopal Government generally and mainly insisted upon as the only clear proof for the establishing of *Ruling-Lay Elders*, which interpretation his Majesty knoweth not how far you will admit of.

As to the Angels of the Churches.

3. *Reply.* 16, 17. His Majesties purpose of naming these Angels in his first Paper, sufficiently declared in his second, required no more to be granted for the proving of what he intended but these two things only: First that they were *personæ singulares*; and then that they had a superiority in their respective Churches, as well over Presbyters as others; which two being the *Periphrasis* or definition of a Bishop, his Majesty conceived it would follow of it self, That they were Bishops: that the Epistles directed to them in the respective Reproofs, Precepts, threatnings, and other the contents thereof, did concern their fellow Presbyters also, and indeed the whole Church (which in your last you again remember his Majesty did then, and doth still believe, found it agreeable both to the tenor of the Epistles themselves, and to the consentient judgement of Interpreters. Only his Majesty said, that

ſtill doth, That that hindreth not, but that the Angels to whom the Epiſtles were directed, were *perſonæ ſingulares* ſtill: This his Majeſty illuſtrated by a Similitude, which though it doe not hold in ſome other reſpects, and namely thoſe by you obſerved (for his Majeſty never dreamt of a four-footed Similitude) yet it perfectly illuſtrates the thing it was then intended for, as is evident enough, ſo that there needeth no more to be ſaid about it.

That which you inſiſt upon to prove the contrary from *Rev.* 2. 24. *But I ſay to you* (ὑμῖν plurally) *and to the reſt in Thyatira*, is plainly of no force, if thoſe Copies in which the copulative conjunction is wanting be true; for then the reading would be this, *But I ſay to you the reſt in Thyatira*: But following the ordinary Copies, the difficulty is not great, ſuch manner of Apoſtrophes by changing the number, or turning the ſpeech to another perſon, being very uſuall both in prophetick Writings, ſuch as this Book of *Revelation* is, and in Epiſtles of this nature written to one, but with reference to many others therein concerned. *Beza* expoundeth it, ὑμῖν *to you*, (that is, the Angel as Preſident, and his colleagues the other Presbyters) *and to the reſt*, that is, to the whole flock or people; which manner of ſpeaking might be illuſtrated by the like forms of ſpeech to be uſed in a Letter written to a Corporation, wherein the Major and Aldermen especially, but yet the whole Town generally were concerned, but directed to the Major alone; or from a Lord, containing ſome Orders for his own houſhould eſpecially, and generally for the whole Townſhip, but by the Inſcription directed to his Steward only, or the like.

The conſent of ancient and later Writers produced by his Majeſty for the proof of the two things before named only, but eſpecially

ly of the first *viz.* That the Angels were *personæ singulares*: (For the latter, *viz.* That they were superior to Presbyters also, had been confessed by your selves in your first grant before) but was not produced to prove the conclusion it self immediately, *viz.* That they were Bishops in distinct sense, although sundry of their testimonies come up even to that also. But to the first point, That they were single persons, the concurrences so generall, that his Majesty remembreth not to have heard of any one single Interpreter before *Brightman*, that ever expounded them otherwise. And yet the same man (as his Majesty is informed) in his whole Commentary upon the *Revelation*, doth scarce, if at all, any where else, save in the seven Epistles, expound the word *Angel* collectively, but still of one single person or other; insomuch as he maketh one Angel to be *Gregory* the Great, another Queen *Elizabeth*, another *Cranmer*, another *Chemnitius* and the like: but generally both the Fathers and Protestant Divines agree in this, That the Angel was a single person, some affirming plainly, and that *in terminis*, he was a Bishop: some naming the very persons of some of them, as of *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, and others, some calling him chief Pastor or Superintendent of that Church: and those that speak least, and were more or lesse disaffected to Bishops, as *Beza*, Doctor *Reynolds*, the *Geneva Note*, and even *Cartwright* himself, the πρῶτος Presbyter or chief among the Presbyters. And this they doe sundry of them, not crudely delivering their opinions only, and then no more but they give reasons for it, and after examination of the several Opinions, prefer this before the rest, affirming that *Doctissimi quique Interpretes*, all the best learned Interpreters so understand it, and that they cannot understand it otherwise, *Vim nisi facere Textui velint*,

ſe they will offer violence to the Text.

That which his Majeſty ſaid concerning the ſubdiviſion of thoſe that had divided themſelves from the common judgement of this Church, was meant by his Majeſty, as to the Subdiviſion in reſpect of this particular of the Angels, wherein they differ one from another, and not as to the diviſion in reſpect of their diſſike of Biſhops, wherein they all agree: And truly his Majeſty doth not yet ſee, how either their differences can be poſsibly reconciled in the former (no accommodation in the world being able to make all the people of the whole Church, nor yet a Colledge conſiſting of many Presbyters, to be one ſingle perſon) or their receſſe wholly excuſed in the latter, their diſſenting from the common and received judgement, practiſe of the Chriſtian Church, in the matter of Epiſcopacy, and the evill conſequents thereof, having in his Majeſties opinion brought a greater reproach upon the Proteſtant Religion, and given more advantage (or at leaſt) to the Romiſh party, to aſperſe the Reformed Churches in ſuch ſort as we ſee they doe, then their diſagreement from the Church of *Rome* in any one controverted point whatſoever beſides hath done.

As to the Apoſtles Succeſſors.

Reply, Pag. 8. HEre little is ſaid, the ſubſtance whereof hath not been anſwered before; His Majeſty therefore briefly declares his meaning herein, That the Apoſtles were not to have no neceſſary Succeſſors in any thing that was extraordinary, either in their Miſsion or Function; that his Majeſty ſpake not of Succeſſion into Abilities otherwiſe than by inſtruction; mentioning other particulars withall, which thing he thinketh needeth not to have been now the third time by you mentioned; That in the Apoſtles Miſsion

or

or Commission (for his Majesty under the name of Mission comprehendeth both) and consequently in the Apostolical Office, as there was something extraordinary, so there was something ordinary, wherein they were to have Successours; That Bishops are properly their Successours, in the whole Apostolical Office, so far as it was ordinary, and to have Successours; that therefore the Bishops Office may in regard of that succession be said to be Apostolical; That yet it doth not follow that they must needs be called Apostles, taking the denomination from the Office, in as much as the denomination of the Apostles, peculiarly so called, was not given them from the Office whereunto they were sent, but (as the word itself rather importeth) from the immediateness of their Mission, being sent immediately by Christ himself; in respect whereof for distinction sake, and in honour to their persons it was thought fitter by those that succeeded, in common usage to abstain from that denomination, and to be stiled rather by the name of Bishops; That if the Apostles had no Successours, the Presbyters (who are their Successours in part, immediately and subordinately to the Bishops) will be very hard set to prove the warrant of their own Office and Mission which, if not derived from the Apostles (who only received power of Mission from Christ by a continued line of Succession, his Majesty seeth not upon what other bottom it can stand.

As to the standing Officers of the Church.

1o *Reply*, YOu insisted upon two places of 19. 20. Scripture, *Phil.* 1. 1. and 1 Tim. 3. to prove that there were to be no more standing Officers in the Church, then the two in those places mentioned, *viz.* Presbyters (who are there called Bishops) and Deacons whereunto his Majesties answer was, That the

might be other though not mentioned in thoſe places: which Anſwer, though it were alone ſufficient, yet *ex abundanti*, his Majeſty ſhewed withal, that ſuppoſing your interpretation of the word *Biſhop* in both the places (*viz.* to denote the Office of Presbyter only) there might yet be given ſome probable conjectures, which (likewiſe ſuppoſed true) might ſatisfie us, why that of Biſhop in the diſtinct ſenſe, ſhould not be needful or proper to be named in thoſe places.

His Majeſties former Reaſon, though in *Hypotheſi*, and as applyed to the Church of *Philippi*, it be but conjectural, yet upon the credit of all Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, and conſideration of the condition of thoſe times, as it is ſet forth in the Scriptures alſo, it will appear in *Theſi*, to be undoubtedly true, *viz.* That the Apoſtles themſelves firſt planted Churches; that they were perpetual Governours, and in chief of all the Churches whileſt they lived; that as the burthen grew greater by the propagation of the Goſpel, they aſſumed others *in partem curæ*, committing to their charge the peculiar overſight of the Churches in ſome principal Cities, and the Towns and Villages adjacent, as *James* at *Jeruſalem*, and others in other places ſooner or later, as they ſaw it expedient for the ſervice of the Church: That the perſons ſo by them appointed, to ſuch peculiar charges, did exerciſe the powers of Ordination, and other Government, under the Apoſtles, and are therefore in the Church-ſtory called Biſhops of thoſe places in a diſtinct rank; That in ſome places where the Apoſtles came themſelves more frequently converſant, they did for ſome while govern the Churches immediately by themſelves, before they ſet Biſhops there; and that after the Apoſtles times, Biſhops only were the ordinary Governours of the Churches of Chriſt: And his Majeſty believeth it cannot be proved either from clear

clear evidence of Scripture, or credible testimonies of Antiquity, that ever any Presbyter or Presbytery exercised the power either of Ordination at all without a Bishop, or of that which they call Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in ordinary, and by their own sole authority, or otherwise, then as it was delegated unto them upon occasion, and for the time by Apostles and Bishops.

For that place of *Phil.* 1. 1. in particular, his Majesties purpose being, not to interpret the place (a work fitter for Divines) but to manifest the inconsequence of the Argument whereby you would conclude but two standing Officers only, because but two there named; gave this as one probable conjecture why there might be no Bishops in distinct sense there mentioned, because possibly the Apostles had not as yet set any Bishops over that Church; which his Majesty did not propose as the only, nor yet as the most probable conjecture (for which cause He delivered it so cautiously, saying only, It might be probable) but as that which for the present came first into his thoughts, and was sufficient for his purpose without the least meaning thereby to prejudice other interpretations; as namely, of those Expositers who take the words (with the Bishop and Deacons) as belonging to the persons saluting, and not to the persons saluted; to this sense *Paul* and *Timotheus* the servants of Jesus Christ, with the Bishops and Deacons to the Saints at *Philippi*, &c. or of those who affirm, and that with great probability, That *Epaphroditus* was then actually Bishop of *Philippi*, but not to be mentioned in the Inscription of the Epistle, because he was not then at *Philippi*, but with St. *Paul* at Rome when that Epistle was written: Any of which conjectures, if they be true (as there is none of them utterly improbable) that place of Phil. 1. 1. will not doe you much service in this Question.

In the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Apostle directeth and admonisheth them as Bishops, particularly concerning Ordination of Ministers, that they do it advisedly, and ordain none but such as are meetly qualified for the service of the Church; which directions and admonitions his Majesty believeth for the substance to belong to all Bishops of after times, as well as unto them: But his Majesty seeth no necessity why in those Epistles there should be any particular directions given concerning the Ordination of Bishops, at least unless it could be made appear, That they were to ordain some such in those places, nor perhaps if that could be made to appear, in as much as in those Epistles there is not the least signification of any difference at all between Presbyters and Deacons in the manner of their Ordination, both being to be performed by the Bishop, and by imposition of hands and to both comprehended under that generall Rule (*Lay hands suddenly on no man*) but only, and that very little, and scarce considerable (as to the making of distinct Offices) in the qualification of their persons.

The Ordination therefore of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, being to be performed in the same manner, and the same qualifications of a sort, saving such differences as the importance of their several Offices make (which is more in the degree then in the things) being required in both, it had been sufficient if in those Epistles there had been direction given concerning the Ordination and Qualification but of one sort of Church-Officers only; as in the Epistle to *Titus*, we see there are of Presbyters only, and no mention made of Deacons in the whole Epistle: whence it may be as well concluded. That there was to be no ordaining Officer in the Church of *Creet*, but Presbyters only, because St. *Paul* giveth directions to *Titus* concerning any others

as it can be concluded, That there were to be no other Officers in the Church of *Ephesus*, but Presbyters and Deacons only, because St. *Paul* giveth no directions to *Timothy* concerning any other.

As to the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

11, *Reply* 21, 27. CONcerning the judgement of Ecclesiasticall Writers about the Divine Right of Episcopacy, his Majesty conceiveth the difference to be more in their Expressions than in their meaning, some calling it *Divine*, others *Apostolicall*, and some (but not many) *Ecclesiasticall*; but that the Superiority of Bishops above Presbyters began in the Apostles times, and had its foundation in the Institution either of Christ himself or of his Apostles, his Majesty hath not heard (*Aerius* excepted) that any till these latter Ages have denied.

For that which you touch upon concerning the word *Infallible*, his Majesty supposeth you knew his meaning, and he delighteth not to contend about words.

As for the *Catalogues*, some uncertainties in a few (a frailty which all humane Histories are subject to) his Majesty taketh to be insufficient to discredit all differences there are in Historiographers, in reciting the succession of the *Babylonian*, *Persian* and *Roman* Kings, and of the *Saxon* Kings in this *Land*: And we finde far more inextricable intricacies in the *Fasti Consulares*, the Catalogues of the *Roman* Consuls (notwithstanding their great care in keeping the publick Records, and the exactnesse of the *Roman* Historiers) than are to be found in Episcopall Catalogues, those especially of the chief Cities, as *Jerusalem*, *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Ephesus*, &c. yet as all men believe there were Kings in those Countries, and Co-

his in *Rome* in those times, so as you might well foresee would be answered) the discrediting of the Catalogues of Bishops, in respect of some uncertainties (although his Majesty doubteth not, but many of the differences you instance in, may be fairly reconciled) tendeth rather to the confirming of the thing it self.

That which you say in answer hereunto; That the Ecclesiasticall Writers called them Bishops, in complyance to the Language of their own times, after the names of Presbyters and Bishops were distingnished, but that they were not indeed Bishops in the proper sense now in Question: his Majesty who believeth the distinction of those names, to have begun presently after the Apostles times (if not rather whilest some of them were living) such consequently believe, that as they were called, so were they indeed Bishops in that proper sense. It appeareth by *Ignatius* his Epistles every where, how wide the difference was in his time between a Bishop and a meer Presbyter: If *Hierom* only, and some a little ancienter than he, had applyed the name Bishop to persons that lived some Ages before them, there might have been the more colour to have attributed it to such a complyance as you speak of; but that they received both the name and the truth of their relations from unquestionable Testimonies and Records, his Majesty thinketh it may be made good by many instances: For example, to instance in one only, *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, who is thought to be the Angell of that Church in the *Revelation*; *Ignatius*, who was contemporary with him, wrote one Epistle to him, and sends salutation to him in another as Bishop of *Smyrna*; Many yeers after *Irenaeus* Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*, (whose writings were never yet called in question by any) not only affirms him to have been constituted

Bishop

Bishop of *Smyrna* by the Apostles, but [illegible] *That he himself when he was a Boy, had seen him a very old Man. Tertullian* next, a very ancient Writer, affirmeth, *That he was [illegible] of Smyrna, there placed by S. John.* [illegible] cometh *Eusebius*, who in his Ecclesiastical History, not only historically reporteth of [illegible] being Bishop there, as he doth of other Bishops; but citeth also for it the Testimonies both of *Ignatius* and *Irenæus* (which in the way giveth good credit to *Ignatius* his Epistles too.) Then *Hierom* also and others lastly attest the same. And it cannot be doubted, but *Eusebius* and *Hierom* had in their time the like certain Testimonies and Grounds of sundry others, whom they report to have been Bishops; which Testimonies and Records are not all come to our hands.

For the Testimonies of *Clemens* and *Ignatius*, His Majesty saith, First, That though it be not reasonable that the Testimony of one single Epistle should be so made the adequate measure of *Clemens* his Opinion, as to exclude all other proofs from his Example, or otherwise; yet his Majesty, since *Clemens* was first named by you, and the weight of the main Cause lieth not much upon it, is content also for that matter to refer himself to that Epistle. Secondly, That his Majesty could not but use some earnestnesse of expression in the cause of *Ignatius* against some who have rejected the whole Volume of his Epistles, but upon such arguments as have more lessened the reputation of their own Learning, than the Authority of those Epistles, in the opinion of moderate and judicious men. And yet *Blendellus*, a very learned man, though he rejected those Epistles, confessed notwithstanding the ancient Fathers gave credence thereunto.

The Apostles, you say, *did not ordain themselves, Bishops of any particular place*;

as the Bishops of some particular places are reported in the Catalogues to have been Successors to such or such of the Apostles, and from the Names of such Apostles are entred into the Catalogues: To this his Majesty saith, That the Apostles were formerly Bishops by vertue of their Mission from Christ, as hath been already declared, but did neither ordain themselves, nor could be ordained by others, Bishops of such or such particular Cities: although his Majesty knoweth not, but that they might, without prejudice to their Apostleship, and by mutuall consent, make choice of their severall quarters wherein to exercise that Function, as well as Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* by consent went the one to the Circumcision, the other to the Gentiles: but such apportionments did not entitle them to be properly called Bishops of those places, unless any of them by such Argument did constantly reside in some City of which there is not in the History of the Church any clear undeniable Example: If *James* the Lords Brother (who was certainly Bishop of *Jerusalem*) were not one of the Twelve Apostles, as the more generall opinion is that he was not; yet did the Churches of succeeding times, for the greater honour of their City, and the memory of so great Benefactor, enter the head of the Lists or Catalogues of their Bishops, the Names of such of the Apostles as had either first planted the Church, or placed Bishops, or made any long abode and continuance, or ended their dayes among them: yet doth not the true Title of Successors to the Apostles thereby accrue to the Bishops of those places, more than to other Bishops, but all Bishops are truly Successors to the Apostles in two respects; The one, for that they derive their Ordination by a continuall Line of Succession from the Apostles: The other, for

that they succeed into the same Apostolic power and Function, which the Apostles ordinary Pastors had.

Your motion to reduce this whole Difference to Scripture alone, were the more reasonable if the matter in question were properly a point of Faith And yet even in points of Faith as the Doctrin of the Trinity, the Canon of Scripture, and sundry other) the universal judgement of the Church hath been ever held of very considerable regard; but being a matter of Fact, as before was said, which the Scriptures do not deliver entirely and perspicuously in any one place together, but obscurely, and by parts; so that the whole standing thereof dependeth meerly upon conjecturall Interpretations, and uncertain probabilities, nor assure any certain distinguishing Characters, whereby to discern therein is extraordinary, what proceeding what of necessary and perpetuall Obligation there seemeth to his Majesty to be reason of admitting the subsequent judgement and practise of the Christian Churches into Tryall.

As to the three Questions proposed by his Majesty.

12. *Reply,* 29. &c. HIs Majesty resteth very unsatisfied, That you have now again wholly declined the answering those three questions so clearly proposed by him, which your selves also confesse to be of great importance, upon this only pretence, *That the whole volume of Ecclesiastical History is contained in them*: Whereas his Majesty did neither expect nor require from you any large or polemicall discourse concerning the questions; but yet did conceive you bound (in order to his satisfaction and your own undertaking) in some sort obliged to

shall in few words what your judgement was therein, with the grounds thereof, that so his Majesty might have taken the same into his further consideration, then which nothing could have more conduced to the informing of his judgement, and the satisfaction of his Conscience; which his Majesty also further conceives you might have done, with the least part of that pains you have hitherto bestowed to other purpose, & therein have given him as much satisfaction to his desires, as he expected, and in all likelyhood better satisfaction to his judgement then he yet findeth, or can hope to finde from you, so long as you withhold off from declaring your opinions concerning those Questions: For certainly, untill one of these three things can be clearly evidenced unto his Majesty (viz.) either that there is no certain form of Church government at all prescribed in the Word, or if there be, that the Civill power may change the same as they see cause; or if it be unquestionable, that it was not Episcopall, but some other, his Majesty thinks himself excusable in the judgement of all reasonable men, if he cannot as yet be induced to give his consent to the utter abolition of that Government in the Church, which he found here settled to his hands, which hath continued all over the Christian World, from the times of the Apostles, untill this last Age, and in this Nation ever since the first plantation of Christianity, as well since the Reformation as before, which hath been confirmed by so many Acts of Parliament, approved as consonant to the holy Word of God, in the Articles of the Religion, and by all the Ministers of the Church of *England*, as well by their personall subscriptions, as otherwise, so attested and declared, and which himself in his judgement and conscience, hath for these many yeers past, and yet is perswaded to be at least

of Apostolicall Institution and practise: Truely, his Majesty cannot but wonder what should be the reason of your great slacke and unwillingnesse to discover your minde in a matter of so great and necessary consequence: and for a finall conclusion of this whole dispute (which his Majesty thinketh fit to shut up with this Paper) he must plainly tell you, That your endeavours to have given him satisfaction in the questions proposed would have added much in his opinion to the reputation of their ingenuity in the whole undertaking; it being not probable you should work much upon his judgement, whilest you are fearfull to declare your own, nor possible to relieve his conscience, but by a free declaring of yours.

Nevertheless, his Majesty liketh well of your prayer in the close of your Paper, and thinketh you should do very well to join therewith your utmost possible endeavours towards the settling of Truth and a happy peace in this unsettled Church and Kingdome.

His Majesties Quæres concerning Easter, propounded to the Parliaments Commissioners at Holmby, April 23. 164[6]

I desire to be resolved of this Question, Why the new Reformers discharge the keeping of Easter.

The Reason for this Quære is,

I Conceive the Celebration of this Feast instituted by the same authority, that

changed the Jewish Sabbath into the Lords day or Sunday, for it will not be found in Scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday; wherefore it must be the Churches authority that changed the one and instituted the other; Therefore My opinion is, that those who will not keep this Feast, may as well return to the observation of Saturday and refuse the weekly Sunday; when any body can shew Me that herein I am in an errour, I shall not be ashamed to confesse and amend it. Tell when you know My minde.

C. R.

Newport 29. Novemb. 1648.

...ame,

BY what hath been said you may see how long We have laboured in the search of Peace, Doe not you be discourag'd to tread those wayes; use all worthy means to restore your self to your right; but prefer the way of Peace. Shew the greatnesse of your minde, rather to conquer your Enemies by pardoning, than by punishing. If you saw how un-man- and un-christianly this implacable disposi- tion is in Our Ill-willers, you would avoid the spirit. Censure us not, for having parted with so much of Our own right: the price was great, the commodity was security to Us, and to Our People. And We are confident, that a Parliament would remember how use- full a Kings power is to a Peoples Liberty. And how much We have divested Our Self, that We and they might meet again, in a due Parliamentary way, to agree the bounds for Prince and People. And in this, give belief to Our experience, never to effect more Great- ness or Prerogative, then what is really and

intrinsecally for the good of your Subjects (not satisfaction of Favourites.) And if you thus use it, you will never want means to be a Father to all, and a bountifull Prince to any you would extraordinarily be gracious unto. You may perceive all men trust their treasure where it returns them interest. And if Princes, like the Sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams and rivers trust them with, they will not grudge, but pride themselves, to make them up an Ocean. These considerations may make you as great a Prince, as your Father is now a low one; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For Subjects have learnt (We dare say) that Victories over their Princes, are but Triumphs over themselves, and so will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The English Nation are a sober people, however at present under some infatuation. We know not but this may be the last time We may speak to you, or the World publickly; We are sensible into what hands We are fallen, and yet We blesse God, We have those inward refreshments, that the malice of Our Enemies cannot perturbe. We have learnt to busie Our Self by retiring into Our Self, and therefore can the better digest what befalls Us, not doubting but God can restrain Our Enemies malice, and turn their fiercenesse unto his praise. To conclude, if God give you successe, use it humbly, and far from revenge. If he restore you to your right upon hard conditions, what ever you promise, keep. Those men which have forced Lawes which they were bound to observe, will find their triumphs full of troubles. Doe not think any thing in this world worth obtaining by foul and unjust means. You are the Son of Our love; and as We direct you to what We have recommended to you, so We assure you, We doe not more affectionately pray for you, (to whom

We

We are a natural Parent) then We doe, that the ancient glory and renown of this Nation, be not buried in irreligion, and phanatick humour. And that all Our Subjects (to whom We are a Politick Parent) may have such sober thoughts as to seek their peace, in the Orthodox profession of the Christian Religion, as it was established since the Reformation in this Kingdom, and not in new Revelations: And that the ancient Lawes, with the interpretation according to the known practise, may once again be a hedge about them, that you may in due time govern, and they be governed as in the fear of the Lord.

C. R.

THe Commissioners are gone, the Corn is now in the ground, We expect the Harvest, if the fruit be Peace. We hope the God of Peace will in time reduce all to truth and order again. Which that he may doe, is the Prayer of

C. R.

Divers of His *Majesties* Prayers: Whereof the three last, used by Him in the time of His Restraint, were delivered to the Bishop of *London* at His Death; from whom they were taken away by the Officers of the Army.

I.

A Prayer used by His Majesty, at his entrance in state into the Cathedral Church of Exeter, after he had defeated the Earl of Essex *his Forces in* Cornwall.

O Most glorious Lord God, Father, Son and holy Ghost, I here humbly adore Thy most Sacred Majesty; and I blesse and magnifie thy Name, for that thou hast been pleased so often, and so strangely to deliver Me from the strivings of My people. Father forgive them who have thus risen up against Me, and doe Thou yet turn their hearts both unto Thee and to Me, that I being firmly established in the Throne Thou hast placed Me on, I may defend Thy Church committed to My care, and keep all this Thine and My people in Truth and Peace through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

2.

A Prayer drawn by His Majeſties ſpecial direction and Dictate, for a bleſſing on the Treaty at Uxbridge.

O Moſt mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a people ſorely afflicted by the ſcourge of an unnatural War, doe here earneſtly beſeech Thee, to command a bleſſing from Heaven upon this preſent Treaty, begun for the eſtabliſhment of a happy Peace. Soften the moſt obdurate hearts with a true Chriſtian deſire of ſaving thoſe mens blood, for whom Chriſt himſelf hath ſhed his. Or if the guilt of our great ſins cauſe this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord let the Truth clearly appear, who thoſe men are, which under pretence of the publick good, doe purſue their own private ends; that this people may be no longer ſo blindely miſerable, as not to ſee, at leaſt in this their day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God, for his ſake who is our peace it ſelf, even Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

3.

A Prayer drawn by His Majeſties ſpecial directions, for a bleſſing on the Treaty at Newport *in the* Iſle of Wight.

O Moſt mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a People ſorely afflicted by the ſcourge of an unnatural War, do here earneſtly beſeech thee to command a bleſſing from Heaven upon this Treaty brought about by thy providence, and the only viſible remedy left for the eſtabliſhment of a happy Peace. Soften the moſt obdurate hearts, with a true Chriſtian deſire of Saving

those mens blood, for whom Christ himself hath shed his. O Lord let not the guilt of our sins cause this Treaty to break off, but let the truth of thy Spirit so clearly shine in our mindes, that all private ends laid aside, we may every one of us heartily and sincerely pursue the publick good, and that thy people may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see, at least in this their day, the things that belong unto their peace Grant this gracious God for his sake who is our peace it self, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

4.

A Prayer for pardon of sin, &c.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, look down upon Me Thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate My Self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace; But look upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation, and in the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art only well-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthy to stand before thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holy and eternal God! For as in sin I was conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all thy Commandments by My sinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works omitting many duties I ought to doe, and committing many vices which Thou hast forbidden under pain of thy heavy displeasure: As for My sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting torments in that to come. Thou shouldest deal with Me according to My deserts. I confesse, O Lord, that it is Thy mercy (which endureth for ever) and Thy compassion (which never fails) which is the cause that I have not been long ago con-

but with Thee there is mercy and plenteous redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majesty, that Thou wouldst not enter into judgement with Thy Servant, nor be extreme to mark what is done amisse, but be Thou mercifull unto Me, and wash away all My sins with that precious blood that My Saviour shed for Me. And I beseech Thee, O Lord, not only to wash away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by Thy holy Spirit, from the drosse of My naturall corruption. And as thou doest add dayes to My life, so good Lord, I beseech Thee to add repentance to My dayes, that when I have past this mortall life, I may be partaker of Thy everlasting Kingdom, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer and Confession in and for the times of Affliction.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, as it is only Thy goodnesse that admits of Our imperfect prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is Our bounden and necessary duty to confesse our sins freely unto Thee; and of all men living I have most need, most reason so to doe, no man having been so much favored by Thee, no man more grievously offending Thee: That degree of knowledge which Thou hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of Justice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of Gods worship to be set up in *Scotland*, and indeed the Bishops in *England*? O no; but with

with shame and grief I confesse, that I have followed the perswasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience. Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies, for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty! Grant therefore, mercifull Father, so to strengthen My repentance and amend My prayers, that Thou mayest cleer the way for Thine own Mercies; to which, O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to My deserved afflictions. In the mean time give me patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a discerning spirit to chuse what is best for Thy Church and people, which Thou hast committed to My charge. Grant this, O most mercifull Father, for Thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our only Saviour. Amen.

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most mercifull Father, though My sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than so great a deliverance as to free Me from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy Mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfained repentance come to Thee for succour, it were to multiply and diminish My transgressions, to despair of Thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire thy Divine Majesty, that thou wilt not only pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruell enemies. But if thy wrath against

My hainous offences, will not other wayes be satisfied, than by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions, thy will be done: yet, with humble importunity I doe and shall never leave to implore the assistance of thy heavenly Spirit, that My cause, as I am thy Vicegerent may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My Mind, that with cleerenesse I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody triall; that so My sufferings here may not only glorifie Thee; but likewise be a furtherance to My Salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his sake who suffered for Me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.

Severall

Severall things relating to His MAJESTIES Death.

I.

Three Queries propounded by His Majesty, when the Armies Remonstrance was read unto Him, at Newport, *concerning the intended tryall of His* Majesty.

1. WHether this Remonstrance be agreeable to the former Declarations of the Army? and if not, whether the Parliament would make good their Votes, that after he had consented to what they desired, he should be in a capacity of Honour, Freedome, and Safety.

2. Whether His acknowledgement of the guilt of the blood that hath been spilt in the late Wars (nothing being as yet absolutely concluded or binding) could be urged so far as to be made use of by way of evidence against him, or any of his Party.

3. Whether the Arguments that he hath used in a free and personall Treaty, to lessen or extenuate, and avoid the exactnesse of any of the Conditions, though in manner and form only, might be charged against him as an act of Obstinacy, or wilfull persistance in what is alledged against him, in that he goes on in a destructive course of enmity against the people, and the Laws of the Land, which he hath declared, that his Conscience was not satisfied, concerning divers particulars in the Propositions.

4. Whereas by the Letter of the Law all persons

perſons charged to offend againſt the Law, ought to be tried by their Peers or equals, what the Law is if the perſon queſtioned is without a Peer, and if the Law (which of it ſelf is but a dead Letter) ſeems to condemn him, by what power ſhall judgement be given, and who ſhall give it? or from whence ſhall the adminiſtrators of ſuch judgement derive their power, which may (by the ſame Law) be deemed the ſupreme power or authority of Magiſtracy in the Kingdome.

2.

His Majeſties Reaſons againſt the pretended Juriſdiction of the High Court of Injuſtice, which He intended to have delivered in writing on Monday, Jan. 22. 1648. *but was not permitted.*

HAving already made My proteſtations not only againſt the illegality of this pretended Court, but alſo that no Earthly power can juſtly call Me (who am your KING) in queſtion as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occaſion, more than to refer My ſelf to what I have ſpoken, were I alone in this caſe alone concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preſervation of the true liberty of My people, will not ſuffer Me at this time to be ſilent: for, how can any free-born Subject of *England* call Life, or any thing he poſſeſſeth, his own; if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Law of the Land? which I now take to be the preſent caſe. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have ſatisfied Me concerning theſe grounds which hinder Me to anſwer to your pretended Impeachment; but ſince I ſee that nothing I can ſay will move you to it (though Negatives

gatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, not indeed the meanest Man in *England*; for, I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

* *Hereabout I was stopt, & not suffered to speak any more concerning Reasons.*

* There is no proceeding just against any Man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipall Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this dayes proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the Question now in hand, there it is said, That *where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccles.* 8 4. Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no lesse confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm, that an impeachment can lye against the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maximes is, *That the King can do no wrong*. Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new: if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords-House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of *England*.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of *England*'s Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can

from for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdome, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent at least of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own right alone, as I am your KING, but also for the true liberty of all My Subjects which consists not in sharing the power of Government, but in living under such Lawes, such a Government as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must I doe I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this dayes proceedings doth not only violate, but likewise contain the greatest breach of their publick trust that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses; for all the pretended crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at Newport, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which I account I am against My will brought hither, where since I am come I cannot but to My power defend the ancient Lawes and Liberties of this Kingdome together with My own just right; Than for nothing I can see the higher House is totally excluded. And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides all

this

this, the peace of the Kingdome is not the last in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdome hath flourished for many hundred years, (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceeding against Me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of England will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, the King My Father, and My Self, until the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up were only to defend the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdome, against those who have supposed My power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons, why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of My People; I expect from you either clearer Reasons to convince My judgement (forbidding Me that I am in an Error (and then truly I will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

¶ *This I intended to speak in* Westminster-Hall *on Monday*, 22 January; *but against Law was hindred.*

3.

The Names of those persons, who by a pretended Commission, from a few of the late House of Commons (acted therein by the Councell of War) were appointed to judge their Liege Lord and Soveraign the KING.

Serjeant Joh. Bradshaw President.	Col. Godfrey Bosvil,
Lord Fairfax, Generall.	John Trenchard Esq;
Col. Oliver Cromwell.	Col. Harbottle Morley.
Lieut. General Ireton.	Col. John Berkestead.
Major General Skippon.	Col. Matthew Tomlinson
Commissary Waller.	John Blackestone Esq;
Col. Valentine Walton	Gilbert Millington Esq;
Col. Thomas Harrison.	Sir William Constable.
Col. Edward Whalley.	Col. Edward Ludlow.
Col. Thomas Pride.	Col. John Lambert.
Col. Isaac Ewer.	Col. John Hutchinson.
Col. Richard Ingolsby.	Sir Arthur Hazlerigg.
Col. Henry Mildmay.	Sir Michael Livesey.
Col. Thomas Honywood.	Richard Salloway Esq;
Col. James Lord Grey.	Col Robert Titchburn.
Col. Philip Lord Lisle.	Col. Owen Roe.
Col. William Lord Munson.	Col. Robert Manwaring
Col. John Danvers.	Col Robert Lilburne.
Col. Thomas Maleverer.	Col. Adrian Scroope.
Col. John Bowcher.	Col. Richard Deane.
Col. James Harrington.	Col. John Okey.
Col. William Brereton.	Col. Robert Overton.
Col. Robert Wallop Esq;	Col. John Harrison.
Col. Hemingham Esq;	Col. John Desborough.
Col. Pennington Ald.	Col. William Goffe.
Col. John Atkins Alder.	Col. Robert Duckenfield
Col. Rowland Wilson.	Cornelius Holland Esq;
Col. Peter Wentworth.	John Carne Esq;
Col. Henry Martin.	Sir William Armin.
Col. William Purefoy.	John Jones Esq;
	Miles Corbet Esq;
	Francis Allen Esq;

Thomas

Thomas Lister Esqs
Ben. Weston Esq
Peregrin Pelham Esq;
John Gourdoun Esq;
Serjeant Francis Thorp.
John Nus Esq;
Thomas Challoner Esq;
Col. Alg. Sidney.
John Anlaby Esqs
Col. John Moore.
Richard Darley Esq;
William Say Esq;
John Aldred Esq;
John Fagge Esq;
James Nelthrop Esq;
Sir William Roberts.
Col. Francis Lassels.
Col Alex Kirby.
Henry Smith Esq;
Edmond Wilde Esq
James Chaloner Esqs
Josias Barnes Esq;
Dennis Bond Esq;
Humphry Edwards Esq;
Gregory Clement Esq;
John Fray Esq;
Thomas Wogan Esq;
Sir Gregory Norton.
Col. Edmond Harvey.
John Dove Esq
Col. John Venne.
John Foulkes Alder.
Thomas Scot Alderman
Ths. Andrews Alder.
William Cawley Esq
Abraham Burrel Esq;
Col. Anthony Stapley.
Roger Gratwick Esq;
John Downes Esq;
Col. Thomas Horton.
Col. Tho. Hammond.
Col George Fenwick.
Serj. Robert Nichols.
Robert Reynolds Esq;
John Liste Esqs
Nicholas Love Esq;
Vincent Potter.
Sir Gilbert Pickering.
John Weaver Esq;
Roger Hill Esq;
John Lenthal Esq;
Sir Edward Baynton.
Joh Corbet Esq;
Thomas Blunt Esq;
Thomas Boone Esq.
Aug. Garland Esq;
Aug. Skinner Esq.
John Dickswell Esq.
Col George Fleetwood
Simon Maine Esq;
Col. James Temple
Col Peter Temple
Daniel Blagrave Esq.
Sir Peter Temple.
Col. Thomas Waite.
John Browne Esq;
John Lowrey Esq;
In all 300.

The

4.

The Names of those persons, who presumed at several times actually to sit as Judges upon their Soveraign Lord, whereof about 73 did passe sentence of Death upon Him, with the Names of the Councel and Officers that attended them.

Serjeant *Joh Bradshaw*, Presi. ent
Gen *Oliver Cromwel.*
Com. General *Ireton.*
Major Gen. *Skippon.*
Sir Hardresse *Waller.*
Col. *Thomas Harrison.*
Col *Edward Whalley.*
Col. *Themas Pride.*
Col. *Isaac Ewer*
Col. *Richard Ingolsby.*
Sir *Henry Mildmay*
Thomas Lord *Grey.*
Philip Lord *Lisle.*
William Lord *Munson.*
Sir *John Danvers*
Sir *Thomas Maleverer.*
Sir *Jon Bowcher.*
Sir *James Harrington*
Sir *William Brereton.*
William Hemmingham Esquire.
Isaac Pennington Alder
Thomas Atkins Alder.
Rowland Wilson Alder.
Sir *Peter Wentworth.*
Col. *Henry Martin.*
Col. *William Purefoy*
Col. *Godfrey Bosvil.*
Col *John Berkestead.*
Sir *William Constable*
Col. *Edward Ludlow.*
Col. *John Hutchinson.*
Col. *Robert Titchburn.*
Col *Owen Roe*
Col. *Adrian Scroope.*
Col *John Okey*
Col *John Harrison.*
Col. *John Desborough.*
Cornelius Holland Esq;
Miles Corbet Esq;
Francis Allen Esq;
Peregrine Pelham Esqs
John Gourdon Esq;
Serjeant *Francis Thorp.*
Thomas Challoner Esq;
Col. *John Moore.*
John Alured Esq;
Col. *Francis Tossels.*
Henry Smith Esq;
James Challoner Esq;
Dennis Bond Esq;
Humphrey Edwards Esquire.
Gregory Clement Esq.
John Fry Esq;
Thomas Wogan Esq;
Sir *Gregory Norton,*
Col *Edmund Harvey.*
John Dove Esqs
Col *John Venne.*
John Foulkes Alderm.
Thomas Scot Alderm.
Thomas Andrews Alderman.
William Cawley Esqs
Anthony

Anthony Stapeley.
John Liste Esq;
John Corbet Esq;
Thomas Blunt Esq;
Thomas Boone Esq
Col George Fleetwood.
Col. James Temple.
Col Thomas Waite.
John Browne Esq;
William Say Esq;
Col. Matthew Tomlinson.
John Blackeston.
Gilbert Millington.
Abraham Barrel.
Col. John Downes.
Mr. Norton.
L. Gen. Tho. Ba
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
Augustine Garland.
Sir Miles Livesey.
John Dexwel.
Simon Mayre.
Daniel Blagrave.
Col. Robert Lilburne.
Col. Richard Dean.
Col. Hewson.
L. Col. William Goff
Mr. Corbet.
Jo. Fownes.
91 In all.

Counsellors assistant to draw up the Ch against the KING.

Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, Mr. Aske, Mr. Co and Mr. Steele (who by reason of sickness w absent,) Serjeant Dandy, Serjeant at Ar Mr. Phelps Clerk.

Messengers and Door-keepers

Mr. Walford, Mr. Radly, Mr. Paine, Mr. Ra el, Mr. Hall. And Mr. King Crier.

His MAJESTIES last Speech on the Scaffold at His Martyrdom, *Jan.* 30. 1648.

Because we have no other Relation of what His Majesty then spake, save what His Enemies have set forth, nor had His Majesty any copy, being surprized and hastned by those that thirsted after His blood, I have only a few Heads in a little Scrip of Paper, which the Souldiers took from the Bishop of *London*, to whom he gave it: therefore the Reader must be content with this copy which they have published (some few words being altered to make the sense perfect, which either wilfully, or by mistake of the Writer or Printer were perverted.)

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking about him upon the people, who were kept off by Troops of Horse, so that they could not come near to hear Him, omitted what he had purposed to have spoken to them (as it is thought) and turning Himself to the Souldiers and Officers (the Instruments of the Regicide) spake to them to this effect.

I Shall be very little heard of any body else, I shall therefore speak a word unto you here: Indeed I could have held My peace very well, if I did not think that holding My peace would make some men think that I did submit to the guilt, as well as to the punishment: But I think it is My duty to God first, and then to My Country, to clear My Self both as an honeſt

neſt man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian.

I ſhall begin firſt with My innocency, and to truth, I think it not very needfull for Me to inſiſt long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the two Houſes of Parliament, and I call God to witneſſe, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an account, that I never did intend to incroach upon their Priviledges, they began upon Me it is the Militia they began upon; they confeſt that the Millitia was Mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from Me; and to be ſhort, if any body will look to the dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and Mine and likewiſe to the Declarations, he will find clearly that they began theſe unhpapy troubles not I; ſo that as for the guilt of theſe Enormous crimes that are laid againſt Me, I hope that God will clear Me of it: I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the two Houſes of Parliament, that is no neceſsity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt; but I believe that ill inſtruments between them and Me, have been the chief cauſe of all this bloodſhed; ſo that as I finde My ſelf clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay that Gods judgements are juſt upon Me: Many times he doth pay Juſtice by an unjuſt ſentence, that is ordinary: I will only ſay this, That an unjuſt * ſentence that I ſuffered for to take effect, is punished now, by an unjuſt ſentence upon Me; ſo far I have ſaid, to ſhew you that I am an Innocent man.

* Earl of Stafford

Now for to ſhew you that I am a good Chriſtian: I hope there is * a good man that will bear Me witneſſe, That I have forgiven all the World; and even thoſe in particular that have been the

* Peter to Dr. Juxon B. of London

[illegible] causers of My Death; who they are, God [illegible], I doe not desire to know, I pray God [illegible]give them.

But this is not all, My charity must goe fur[illegible], I wish that they may repent, for indeed [illegible]ey have committed a great sin in that parti[illegible]lar; I pray God with St. *Stephen*, *That this [illegible] not laid to their charge*; and withall, that [illegible]ey may take the right way to the peace of the [illegible]ngdom; for My charity commands Me not [illegible] to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gasp, the peace of the Kingdom: So (Sirs I doe wish with all My Soul, (I see there is some here will carry it further) that they may endeavour the [illegible] of the Kingdom.

[illegible]rning to [illegible] that [illegible].

Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you [illegible] out of the way, and put you in a way; [illegible] you are out of the way, for certainly all [illegible] may you ever have had yet, as far as I could [illegible] by any thing, is in the way of Conquest; [illegible] this is an ill way; for Conquest in [illegible]pinion is never just, except there be a [illegible] and a just cause, either for matter of [illegible], or a just Title, and then if you goe [illegible] the first quarrel that you have, that [illegible] it unjust at the end that was just at first: [illegible] there be only matter of Conquest, then [illegible] great Robbery; as a Pirate said to *Alex*[illegible] that he was the great Robber, himself [illegible] but a pety Robber; and so, Sirs, I doe [illegible] for the way that you are in, you are much [illegible] the way.

[illegible] Sirs, for to put you in the way, believe [illegible] will never go right, nor God will ne[illegible]per you, untill you give God his due, [illegible] his due (that is my Successour) and [illegible] their due; I am as much for them [illegible] you,

You muſt give God his due, by rep
rightly his Church (according to the Scri
which is now out of order: and to ſet you
a way particulary now I cannot, but only thi
A National Synod freely called, freely de
ting among themſelves, muſt ſettle this, wh
every opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not, the L
of the Land will clearly inſtruct you for th
therefore becauſe it concerns My own pa
cular, I only give you a touch of it.

For the People. Truly I deſire their li
and freedom, as much as any body whos
ever; but I muſt tell you, That their lib
and their freedom conſiſts in having Gov
ment under thoſe Laws by which their L
and their Goods may be moſt their own,
is not in having a ſhare in the Govern
that is nothing pertaining to them. A Sub
and a Soveraign are clean different thi
and therefore, untill you doe that, I
That you doe put the people into that
as I ſay, certainly they will never enjoy
ſelves.

Sirs, It was for this, that now I am
come: for if I would have given way
Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws ch
according to the power of the Sword I
not to have come here; and therefore
you, (and I pray God it be not laid to
charge) That I am the Martyr of the peo

Intruth Sirs, I ſhall not hold you an
ger; I will only ſay this to you, That I
have deſired ſome little time longer, bec
would have put this that I have ſaid in a
better order, and have had it a little
digeſted, then I have done; and therefo
hope you will excuſe Me.

I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God, that you doe take those courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvations.

Bishop of London.

Will your Majesty (though it be very well known what your Majesties affections are to Religion yet because it may be expected, that You should say somewhat) declare your self for the Worlds satisfaction in that point.

KING.

I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for that had almost forgotten it. Introth Sirs, My Conscience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all. That I die a Christian according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left to Me by My Father; and this honest * man, I think, will witnesse it. Then turning to the Officers, He said, Sirs, excuse Me for this same. I have a good cause, and I have a gracious God; I will say no more.

** pointing to the Bishop.*

Bishop of London.

There is but one Stage more, This Stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one: But You may consider it will soon carry You from Earth to Heaven; and there You shall finde a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

KING.

I goe from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the World.

The Bishop.

You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal Crown; a good exchange.

Then the King, after some short and fervent ejaculations in private, with hands and eyes lift up to Heaven: immediately stooping down, laid His neck upon the Block: And

then the Wretch appointed to give the fatal blow, putting His hair under His Cap, the King said, Stay for the signe.

And after a very little pause, stretching forth His hands, the Villain at one blow severed His Head from His Body.

Sic cecidit Carolus, *sic universa simul,*
Britannia.

Lam. 4. 20. *The breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord was taken in their pits, of whom we said, under his shadow we shall live among the Heathen.*

Chap. 5. 15, 16, 17, *The joy of our heart is ceased, our dance is turned into mourning.*

The Crown is fallen from our Head, woe unto us that we have sinned.

For this our heart is faint, for these things our eyes are dim.

The Names of the pretended Major and Aldermen of *London* that personally proclaimed an Act for the abolishing of Kingly Government.

Ald. *Andrews* Major.	Alderman *Bateman.*
Ald. *Pennington.*	Alderm. *Atkins.*
Alderm. *Foulkes.*	Alderman *Venne.*
Alderm. *Kenrick.*	Alderman *Avery.*
Alderman *Byde.*	Alderm. *Wilson.*
Alder. *Edmunds.*	Alderm. *Dethicke.*
Alderman *Pack.*	Alderman *Foot.*

Proclaimed *May* 30. 1649.

A Speech made in Latin, by Dr. Lotius, *to King* Charls *the second, in the name of the Consistory of* Hague, *and in the presence of the rest of the Ministers of that* Church, *upon the death of King* Charls *the first*, 7. Calend. Martii, 1649.

SERENISSIME REX.

VIsum est Deo, summo rerum Arbitro et Moderatori, grave vulnus infligere SERENISSIMÆ FAMILIÆ TUÆ MAJESTATIS, cujus & nos sensu tacti, adsumus, ut si quod Magnus Paracletus consolationis suggesserit Verbum, MAJESTATIS TUÆ in sinum expromamus.

Magna nobis pars solatii, & cum eo Patientiæ perit sæpius, cum nimium intenti instrumentis & causis secundis, verberantur Dei manum non, ut oportet, considerantes. Nos ii non sumus, Serenissime Rex, qui eos velimus excusatos, quorum Horrendum Piacinus tam alti doloris causa est absit, absit. Testamur enim coram Deo nostro, cui in Spiritu

servimus, nos illud *inauditum parricidi-*
illam execrandam lanienam Sacrosancti &
Capitis & æternum deplorandam *unici*
Professionis Regis mactationem ex
detestari. Quippe ni: cum *Sacrilegum*
Scelus directe impugnet Deum *per quem*
regnant ejus verbum in Scriptura com-
hensum, ubi quæ Cæsaris, sunt Cæsari
voluit; qui Regum Rex est; imo in-
iam laciat summam Rationi, Humanitati
communi subjectorum Societati, & osten-
quid sit esse Independentem.

Quod volumus Serenissime Rex, hoc est,
randa esse, & probanda illa in Deo Ju-
, quæ ut ingrata a nobis sunt & oc-
sæpe, semper tamen justa. Quibus au-
randâ præcipuè veniunt ea, quando per
Deu probos exercet; vultque ut sui
sub pressura *Alienigenarum*, Anglos
eos non agnoscimus qui in Legitimum Re-
Angliæ *insurgunt*) quod tamen, quòd so-
sit. non est quod è Scripturis utriusque
Testamenti probemus, cum gravis hujus
Majestatis Serenissimæ Familiæ afflictio
testimonio sit & documento. Ubi
nobis Christianis reliqui quam cum Re-
vate ingeminare, *Tacui Domine quia tu*
; respicere ad castigantem Dei Dex-
; Animam possidere in patientia; forti
Causam suam commendare, & Patro-
; quinimo, pro inimicis intercedere
Deum: sic præivit *Regia & jam in &*
Christo suo fœlix *Anima* Serenissimi
Majestatis Parentis, ad exemplum Sal-
& Protomartyris *Stephani*: ut reversi
Dominum Deum serio pœnitentiam agant,
que eum culpam confessi & deprecati,
ad Dominum suum redeant & quoque ad
, & debitam obedientiam; quod nos
maximum ad veram Consolationem com-
existimamus. Quæ quidem con-

fotatio tum demum vim exercebit sua[illegible] voluntas noſtra, ſe ſuprem[illegible] voluntati ſub[illegible] cerit, atque actu ipſo probaverit; non [illegible] fruſtrà, aut minus attentè, toties apud Deum exclamaſſe, Fiat voluntas tua.

Commendamus inſuper Tuæ Majeſtati [illegible]ram ac defenſionem Religionis Reformat[illegible] cujus in Anglia Palladium in Synodi Nation[illegible] lis Canonibus conſtare, *qui inter Beatos* [illegible] *triumphas, in Articulo Mortis Rex Pientiſſ[illegible]* declaravit; *quod non certe non abnuim[illegible]* quam Religionem ut ſartam tectam habe[illegible] velit Tuam Majeſtatem obnixe obſecra[illegible] Quod ſupereſt, veneramur; venerabimurq[illegible] ſummum illud Numen, ut Tuam Majeſtat[illegible] Spiritu ſuo in Cœlis induat; ſalutarib[illegible] Conſiliis, & Conſiliaris inſtruat; Patientia[illegible] illi largiatur; Sceptrum confirmet; totu[illegible] que adeo Sereniſsimam Familiam *in integr[illegible]* reſtituat; & interim conſoletur: Faxit ho[illegible] Patet Miſericordiarum & omnis Conſolatio[illegible] nis in Chriſto per Spiritum Sanctum. *Am[illegible]*

22.

The ſame done into Engliſh.

Moſt gracious King,

IT hath pleaſed God, the Supreme Judg[illegible] and Moderator of all things, to give a ſor[illegible] wound to your Majeſties *Moſt Renowned Fa[illegible] mily*: With the ſenſe whereof we likewi[illegible] being deeply touched, are here preſent, th[illegible] if the great *Comforter* ſhall miniſter any wor[illegible] of conſolation, we may pour it forth int[illegible] y our Majeſties boſome.

A mat[illegible]

A main portion of comfort, and (with that) of patience is oft-times loſt unto us; when, being too intent upon inſtrumentall and ſecond Cauſes, we do not conſider (as behoves) the wounding hand of God. We are none of thoſe (*Moſt Gracious King*) who would any way excuſe them, whoſe *Horrible Villany* is the cauſe of ſo deep a ſorrow. *God forbid!* *God forbid.*

For we publiſh and declare in the preſence of our God, whom we ſerve in ſpirit, that we do deteſt from our ſouls, that *never till now heard of Parricide*, that *execrable Butchery* of the Sacred and Anointed Head; and that eternally to be lamented *Murther* of the Only King of the Reformed Religion. And why not? When as this *curſed* and *Sacrilegious* wickedneſſe does directly fight againſt God, *by whom Kings Reign*; againſt his Word revealed in Scripture, where He, who is King of Kings, wils and commands us, *to give unto Cæſar the things which are Cæſars.* Yea, and which does the higheſt affront that can be, to Reaſon, Humanity, and the common *ſociety of Subjects*: And (in a word) ſhews what it is to be an *Independant.*

Moſt Renowned King, our deſire is; That the judgements of God be adored and approved of; which, however they may be *irkeſome* unto us, and oft-times *ſecret*, yet they are alwayes *juſt.* Among which, theſe are eſpecially to be numbred, *viz.* when God tryeth and exerciſeth the *Righteous* by the *wicked*, and is pleaſed that *his own* ſhould groan under the preſſure of *Strangers*: (*For we do not acknowledge them to be Engliſhmen, who do riſe up againſt the lawfull King of England.*) Which is, that it is frequent and uſuall; there is no need we ſhould fetch proofs for it out of the Holy Writ of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*;

When as the heavy affliction which is now upon your Majesties *Most Renowned Family*, is an abundant testimony and document. Where there is nothing left for us Christians but to cry out and ingeminate it with the Kingly Prophet, *Lord, I opened not my mouth, for thou didst it.* to look up to the chastising right hand of God; to *possesse the soul in patience*; to commend *his own Cause* and the defence thereof to the *Mighty Avenger*; Yea, and moreover to intercede with God for our *Enemies*, as the *Royall Soul* of *your* Majesties *Most Renowned Father*, who is *now happy in and with his Christ.* has led the way after the *Example of our Saviour*, and the Protomartyr S *Stephen*; That they turning to the Lord our God may seriously repent, and confessing this their great wickednesse unto him, and beseeching pardon for the same, may likewise return to their Liege-Lord, as also to their Loyalty and due obedience. Which thing we conceive to be the most excellent and compendious way to true consolation. Which consolation shall then at length encrise its full vigour, when *our will* shall have submitted it selfto the *Supreme will* of God, and have evidenced *Actually* and *indeed* that we have not in vain, or lesse diligently, so often cried aloud unto God, *Thy will be done.*

We further commend to Your *Sacred* Majesty the defence and patronage of the Reformed Religion; whose very *safe-guard* or *Sanctuary* in *England*, He (that *Most Religious* King) *who now triumphs among the blessed*, did declare to the World at *the point of death* to rest in *the Canons of a Nationall Synod* * Which truly we can in no *wise* deny. Which Religion we do earnestly beseech, that Your Majesty

* *See the Kings Speech upon the Scaffold.*

would preserve safe and entire.

For the rest, we do and ever will pray to the most high God, to endue Your Majesty with his heavenly Spirit; and to furnish you with saving *Counsells*, and faithfull *Counsellors*; to grant you patience to establish your Throne, and so to restore Your whole most Illustrious Family to their *full Rights*; and in the mean while to comfort them.

The *Father* of mercies, and of all consolation, grant this in *Jesus Christ* by his holy Spirit. *Amen.*

Severall

Several Verses made by divers persons upon His MAJESTIES Death.

An Epitaph upon King Charles.

HE that can spel a Sigh or read a Tear;
Pronounce Amazement, or accent wilde
Having All Grief by Heart, He, only he (Fear;
Is fit to write and read thy Elegy
Unvalued CHARLS: Thou art so hard a Text,
Writ in one Age, not understood i'th' next.

Another.

WIthin this sacred *Vault* doth ly
The Quintessence of MAJESTY;
Which being Set more Glorious shines,
The best of *Kings*, best of Divines;
Britains shame, and *Britains* glory,
Mirrour of Princes, complete Story
Of *Royalty*: One so exact
That th' *Elixars* of praise detract.

This

These are faint Shadows : But t' indure,
He's drawn to th' Life in 's POURTRA-
If such another *Piece* you 'l see, (CTURE.
Angels must Limn it out, or He ;
Where Wisdom, Grace, and Eloquence,
Are Centred in their Eminence.
Martyr'd *He* was, to save his Laws,
Religion, People, from the jaws
Of ASSASINES ; whose weal he sought
Even then when they his *Murder* wrought
With horrid plots, that *Headless* He
And in *Him* Church and State) might be.
Then since Correlatives They were,
Three Kingdoms in one KING lies here.

A. B.

Upon the Picture of His Majestie, sitting in his Chair before the High-Court of Injustice.

NOt so Majestick in thy Chair of State !
On that but Men, Here God and Angels
Expecting whether hopes of Life, or fear (wait:
Of death, can move thee from thy Kingly sphere
Constant and fixt, whom no black storms
can soyl :
Thy Colours, Head, and Soul, are all
in oyl,

Upon

upon the Picture of His Majestie in his blew Wastcoat.

HEre shines in a Field *Azure* such a Star,
As at whose Fall Kingdoms amazed are,
Fixt by his fall. Chief of the sparkling train,
'Bove *Ariadnes* Crown, or his own Wain.
Look! what a ray he darts? So *Moses* shout
While stupid *Israel* fore a Calf was thrown.
Only the difference make, you must account
Him coming from, This going to the Mount.

---

upon the death of King Charles *the first.*

GReat! Good! & Just! could I but rate
My griefs, and thy too rigid fate,
I'de weep the world to such a strain,
As it should deluge once again. (supply
But since thy loud tongu'd blood demands
More from *Briareus* hands than *Argus* eye.
I'le sing thy obsequies with Trumpets sounds,
And write thy Epitaph with blood and wounds.

MONTROSSE.

Written with the point of his Sword.

A Deep

A Deep Groan at the Funeral of that Incomparable and Glorious Monarch CHARLES the first.

TO speak our Griefs at full over thy Tombe
Great Soul) we should be Thunderstruck and dumbe:
The trivial Offrings of our bubling eyes
Are but fair Libels at such Obsequies.
When grief bleeds inward, not to sense, 'tis deep.
W'have lost so much, that 'twere a sin to weep
The wretched Bankrupt counts not up his sums,
When his inevitable ruine coms.
Our losse is finite when we can compute;
But that strikes speechles, which is past recruit.
W'are sunk to sense, and on the ruine gaze,
As on a curled Commets firie blaze:
And Earthquakes fright us, when the teeming Earth
Rends ope her bowels for a fatal birth;
As Inundations seize our trembling eyes,
Whose rowling billows over Kingdoms rise.
Alas! our Ruines are cast up, and sped
In that black Total—— *Charls* is Murthered.
Rebellious Gyant hands have broke that Pole,
On which our Orbe did long in Glory roule.
That *Roman Monsters* wish, in act we see,
Three Kingdoms necks have felt the Ax in Thee,
The Butchery is such, as when by *Cain*
The fourth division of the World was slain.
The mangled Church is on the Shambles lay'd,
Her Massacre is on thy Block display'd,
Thine is thy peoples epidemick Tombe,
Thy Sacrifice a num'rous *Hecatombe*.

The

The Powder-mine's now fir'd; we were not
freed,
But respited, by Traitors thus to bleed.
November; plots are brew'd and broach'd in
worse,
And *January* now compleats the Curse.
Our Lives, Estates, Laws, and Religion, all
Lie crush'd, and gnashing in this dismal fall.
Accursed day that blotted out our Light!
May't thou be ever muffled up in Night.
At thy return may fables hang the Skie,
And tears, not beams, distil from Heavens Eye.
Curs'd be that smile that gilds a Face on thee.
The Mother of prodigious Villanie.
Let not a breath be wasted, but in moans,
And all out words be but articulate groans.
May all thy *Rubrick* be this dismal Braud;
Now comes the miscreant Doomsday of the
Land.
Good-friday wretchedly transcrib'd; and such
As Horrour brings alike, though not so much
May Dread still till thy minutes, and we sit
Frighted, to think what others durst commit.
A Fact that copies Angels when they fell
And justly might create another Hell.
Above the scale of Crimes; Treason sublime
That cannot by a parallel be rim'd.
Ravillacks was but under-graduate sin
And *Goury* here a Pupil Assassin.
Infidel wickedness, without the *Pale*;
Yet such as justifies the Cannibal.
Ryot Apochryphal of *Legend* breed,
Above the Canon of a Jesuites Creed.
Spirits of witchcraft, quintessential guilt;
Hells *Pyramid*; another *Babel* built.
Monstrous in bulk; above our *Fancies* sum;
A *Behemoth*, a crime *Leviathan*.
So desperately damnable, that here
E'en *Wild* smels Treason, and will not appear.
That murdering-piece of the new Tyrant-
State.
By whom 'tis hath shot black destinies of late:

that belch'd forth the Loyal *Burleighs* doom
Recoyls at this so dreadfull Martyrdom.
What depth of terrour lies in that offence,
that thus can grinde a seared Conscience?
Hellish Complotment! which a League renews,
Lesse with the men, then th' actions of the Jews,
which was their Bedlam Rabble, and the Cry
of *Justice* now, 'mongst them was *Crucifie*:
Lates Consent is *Bradshaw*'s Sentence here;
The *Judgement-Hall*'s remov'd to *Westminster*.
Royal to the Reeden Scepter; the head and knee
Bo're again that Cursed Pageantry.
The Caitiff crew, in solemn pomp guard on
Block'd Majesty, as not to th' Block, but Throne,
The Belch agrees of those envenom'd Lyes;
Here a Blasphemer, here a Murd'rer dyes.
That goe first in horrour, this comes next,
A pregnant Comment on that gastly Text.
The Heav'ns ne're saw, but in that Tragick houre,
Slaughter'd so great an *Innocence* and *Power*.
Blood-thirsty Tygres! could no stream suffice
To allay that Hell within your breast but this?
Must you needs swill in *Cleopatra*'s Cup,
And drink the price of Kingdoms in a sup?
Alterns of Loyalty have deeply bled,
And now y'have damm'd the Royal Fountain Head.
Cruel *Phlebotomie*! at once to drain
The *Median*, and the rich *Basilick* vein.
The tinctures great that popular murther brings,
Tis Scarlet deep that's dy'd in blood of Kings.
But what, could *Israel* finde no other way
Their wish'd *Canaan* then through th' Red Sea?
Must God have here his deading fire and Cloud,
And he be th' Guide to this outragious Crowd?
Shall the black *Conclave* counterfeit his hand,
And superscribe their Guilt, *Divine Command*?

Doth

Doth th' ugly Fiend usurpe a Saint-like grace?
And Holy-water wash the Devils face?
Shall *Dagons* Temple the mock'd *Ark* inclose?
Can *Esaus* hands agree with *Jacobs* voice?
Must *Molechs* fire now on the Altar burn?
And *Abels* blood to Expiation turn?
Is Righteousnesse so lewd a Bawd? and can
The *Bible* Cover serve the *Alcoran*?
Thus when Hels meant Religion 's bid to flie
As *Faux* his Lanthorn lights him to his Mine.
Here here is sin *non ultra*, when one Lie,
Kils this, and stabs at sacred *Majesty*.
And though his sleepy arm suspend the stroke,
Nor doth loud blood in winged vengeance
urge.
Though the soft hours a while in pleasure lie,
And conquering Treason sing her Lullabie,
The guilt at length in fury heel introul
With barbed arrows on the traitrous soul.
Time may be when that *John-a-Leyden* King
His Quarters to this Tomb an Offering bring,
And that *Be-Munsterd* Rabble may have eyes
To read the price of their dear Butcheries.
Yet if just Providence reprieve the Fate,
The judgment will be deeper though 't be late,
And after times shall feel the curse enhanc'd
But how much they've the sin bequeath'd advanc'd
Mean time (most blessed shade) the Lord
Shall pay her Tribute to thy memory (Eye
Thy *Aromatick* Name shall feast out sense,
Bove balmy *Spicknards* fragrant Redolence,
Whilst on thy loathsome Murderers shall dwell
A plague-sore, blayn, and rotten ulcers fell.
Wonder of men and good esse! stamp'd to be
The Pride, and flourish of all History.
Thou hast undone the Annals, and engross'd
All th' *Heroes* glory which the Earth ere hold.
Thy privilege 'tis only to commence.
Laureate in Sufferings, and in patience.
Thy wrongs were 'bove all sweetness to die,
And yet thy sweetness conquer'd the sharp
Bo

...h so immense. and infinitely vast,
...e first could not be reach'd, but by the last.
...an Massacres are but in death begun;
...t thou hast liv'd an execution.
...lose coffin'd up in a deceased Life;
...d Orphan-Children and a Widow Wife.
...iends not t' approach, or comfort, but to mourn,
...d weep their un-heard plaints, as at thy urn?
...ch black attendants Colonied thy Cell,
...t for thy presence *Car'sbrook* had been Hell.
...at basely to be Dungeon'd. would enrage
...eat *Bajazet* beyond an iron Cage.
...t deep indignity might well have lain
...ething the lighter from a *Tamerlain*.
...t here *Sidonian* Slaves usurpe the riens,
...d lock the Scepter-bearing Arms in chains.
...e spew'd up surfeit of the glut'nous Land:
...nour'd by scorn, & clean beneath all brand.
...t such a Varlet Brood to tear all down.
...d make a common Foot-ball of the Crown,
...'insult on wounded Majesty, and broach,
...e blood of Honour by their vile reproach.
...at royal eye but thine could sober see,
...wing so low, yet bearing up so high?
...at an unbroken sweetnesse grac'd thy Soul,
...yond the World, proud conquest, or controul?
...ngre grim cruelty, thou keepst thy hold;
...y thorny Crown was still a Crown of gold.
...ste Honour Might enrag'd could ne're deflour,
...ough others th' Use, Thou claim'dst the Right of power.
...e brave Athenian thus with (lopp'd off hands)
...op to swelling sayls by 's mouth commands.
...w Vigour rouz'd Thee still in thy Embroyles,
...ems like, recruiting from the Foyles.
...ctorious fury could not terrour bring,
...ugh to quell a captivated King.

So

So did that *Romane Miracle* withstand
Hetrurian shoals, but with single hand.
The Church in thee had still her Armies; the
The World once fought with *Athanasius*.
The Gantlet thus upheld; it is decreed,
(No safety else for Treason) *Charles* must bleed.
Traytor and Sovereign now inverted meet;
The wealthy Olive's drag'd to th'Brambles feet.
The Throne is Metamorphis'd to the Barre,
And despicable Bats the Eagle dare.
Astonishment! yet still we must admire
Thy courage growing with thy conflicts high'r.
No palsied hands or trembling knees betray
That Cause, on which thy soul sure bottom lay.

So free and undisturbed flew thy Breath
Not as condemn'd, but purchasing a Death.
Those early Martyrs in their funeral pile,
Embrac'd their flames with such a quiet smile.
Brave *Cœur-de-Lyon* Soul, that would'st not vent
In one base syllable to beg thy Bayl!
How didst thou blush to live at such a price,
As ask'd thy people for a sacrifice?
Th' *Athenian Prince* at such a pitch of wrath
Redeem'd his destin'd Hoast & Common-wealth.
Who brib'd his cheated enemies to kill,
And both their Conquest and their Conqu'ror fell.

Thus thou our Martyr dyed'st: but oh! we stand
A Ransome for another *Charls* his Hand.
One that will write thy Chronicle in Red.
And dip his Pen in what thy Foes have bled.
Shall treasnons heads in purple Caldrons drench,
And with such veins the flames of Kingdoms quench.

Then thou art least at *Westminster*, shal't be
Fil'd in the pompous list of Majesty.
Thou *Mausoleum* shalt in glory rise.
And tears, and wonders force from Nephews Eyes.

The

l when (though black-mouth'd *Miscreants* engrave)
o Epitaph, but Tyrant, on thy Grave.
Vault of Loyalty shall keep thy Name,
Orient, and bright *Olibian* flame.
which, when times succeeding foot shall tread,
ch Characters as these shall there be read.
Here *Charls*, the best of Monarchs, butcher'd lies;
The Glory of all *Martyrologies*.
wark of Law; The Churches Cittadel;
whom they triumph'd once, with whom they fell:
English *Solomon*, a *Constantine*;
dect of Knowledge, Humane and Divine.
k ev'n to wonder, yet of stoutest Grace,
sweeten Majesty, but not debase.
whole made up of clemency, the Throne
Mercy-seat to him were alwaies one.
ing Treason with a pardoning look,
ad of Gratitude, a stab He took
ith passion lov'd that when he murdred lay,
v'n conquered seem'd, and Hell to bear the sway.
Prince so richly good, so blest a Reign,
World ne're saw but one, nor can again.

— Humano genere Natura benigna
dedit, aut tribuet moderato hoc principe majus
quo vera Dei vivénsque eluxit imago:
quoniam scelerata cohors violavit, acerbas
rilego Deus ipse petet de sanguine pœnas
temptúmq; sui Simulachri haud linquet multum.

rodia ex Buchanani Geneth. Jacobi sexti.
D. H. K.

FINIS.